THE

Story of my Deportation

LAJPAT RAI.



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THE
[illegible] DEPORTATION

BY

[illegible] RAI

[illegible] and hated
[illegible]

[illegible] BY JASWANTRAI, M. A.,
[illegible] PRESS, LAHORE.

1908.



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THE STORY OF MY DEPORTATION

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LALA LAJPAT RAI

"In Exile because I have loved Righteousness and hated Iniquity."—*Gregory VII.*

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY JASWANTRAI, M. A.,
AT THE PANJABEE PRESS, LAHORE.

1908.

TO

MY FATHER

AS A MARK OF MY LOVE.

INTRODUCTION.

अपामीवामप विश्वामनाहुति-
मपारातिं दुर्विदत्रामघायतः ।
आरे देवा द्वेषो अस्मद्युयोतनो-
रुणः शर्म यच्छता स्वस्तये ॥

Drive away all disease and impure sacrifice, keep off the wicked man's malice and hatred, keep far away from us all enmity Lord, and vouchsafe us perfect shelter for our happiness. (Rv. X. 63-12.)

Take no counsel but from God, from the inspirations of your own heart, and from the imperious necessity of rebuilding a temple to *Truth*, *Justice* and *Faith*. (Pope Gregory VII).

I do not think many words are needed to introduce this little book to the reader. It is a plain narrative of my life in exile and makes no pretensions to literary merit. It does not contain anything of permanent value and no attempt has been made therein to sermonise. The book has been written in a hurry and during intervals of time spared from engage-

ments which required constant travelling

For the first five months after my return from Burmah, I was not allowed to enjoy even a fortnight's stay at home at a time ; consequently I have had no time to attend to its literary side. When I was at Calcutta in January last, several interviews were asked for by representatives of the Press (including reporters of more than 2 Anglo-Indian Dailies) to get at facts relating to my life at Mandalay. I, however, declined to give facts piecemeal, and promised to publish the whole thing in a book form which I do now. Ever since I have been constantly worried, and numerous questions have been put to me about my prison life, at almost every station which I happened to visit during the course of my tour in connection with famine relief. It is in response to this universal curiosity that this little book is offered to the public.

Discussion of the causes of unrest reserved.

This is not, however, all that I propose to say about the matter. The more important part of it, *viz.*, the one containing my version of the alleged irritation which led to my deportation and dealing with a short history of the causes of the so called unrest in the Panjab, has been withheld for the present.

2. To catechise severely 2. To meddle with. To exert (secret or) corrupt influence upon.

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So far the Government have not seen their way to disclose fully the grounds upon which they took action against me. When questioned on the subject in the House of Commons by some Liberal M. P's., the Secretary of State for India, generally took shelter under the stereotyped reservation that it was not in the public interests to make a full statement. It is well known, how from day to day, he was heckled² and challenged to disclose the grounds on which the action of the Government was based or to order an open enquiry into my case. Viscount (then Mr.) Morley not only failed to give any good grounds for his action but was very unfortunate in the partial statements he from time to time made. His facts were invariably wrong and his information faulty and incomplete.

Failure of Government to disclose grounds of deportation.

The "Englishman" of Calcutta, however, pretended to supply the omission on the authority of a Punjab Correspondent, and charged me with having tampered with the loyalty of the Native Army. The statement of the "Englishman" has been

Libellous statements by Anglo-Indian and Yellow papers.

2 idle invention Incredible tale.
X To produce or introduce superior information to excite admiration

challenged and now forms the subject of a libel suit filed by me against that paper in the High Court at Calcutta. I have no hesitation in repeating here, that the statement is absolutely false and has no foundation in fact. Another yellow Journal of London (The Daily Express) trotted out another cock-and-bull story, to explain away the mystery connected with my exile, and charged me with having intrigued with the Amir of Kabul for the overthrow of the British Raj in India. The charge being a tissue of lies and absolutely unfounded, an attempt was made, even before my release, to start legal proceedings against the "Daily Express." A lawyer friend (The Hon'ble Mr. Dixit of Bombay) addressed a letter to me at Mandalay, asking for authority to proceed against the paper on my behalf, in a Court of Law. This communication was, however, intercepted and the attempt frustrated by Government. On my release, however, my lawyers (Messrs. Bhupendro Nath Bose and Company, of Calcutta) have served the Proprietor, the Publisher and the Editor of the "Daily Express" with a notice calling upon them to retract the libellous statements made in their paper and make proper amends, fail-

ing which legal proceedings will be taken against them in due course. Of my other traducers the chief culprit, who practically set the ball in motion, was the "Civil and Military Gazette" of Lahore. Almost everything that appeared in the English Press against me was based upon the false and mischievous statements circulated by this paper. A suit has been filed against this paper also and is at the present moment pending in the High Court at Calcutta.

The Government of India have to thank these friends of theirs for the awkward position in which they find themselves to-day, because no impartial observer of contemporary events, can help remarking that the present situation owes much of its bitterness to the narrow-minded insolence of these advocates of repression. The deportations really form only a link in the chain of circumstances that have led to the existing tension in the relations of the rulers and the ruled in this country. Lords Minto and Morley are only reaping what was sown by Lord Curzon and his lieutenants. The lust of power, the greed of gain (both personal and national) and the habits of intolerance and

insolence begotten of an unlimited and unchecked authority over the subject races, have added immensely to the anomaly of an alien rule. The present discontent owes its origin to that policy of defiant Imperialism which was started long before Lord Curzon came out to India, but which was perfected by him. Its effects have been deepened by the insolent and scurrilous tone of the Anglo-Indian Press.

The only redeeming feature of the situation is the occasional intervention of those high-minded sons of Britain and Ireland who sincerely believe that the best interests of their Empire require that all its component parts should be kept bound in ties of affection and contentment and should be treated with fairness and justice. There are some among them who are actuated by even higher motives and who hold that no nation has a right to exploit another, and that if, by chance, one nation acquires supremacy over another, it is the bounden duty of the former to be guided in their rule by a regard for the best interests of the latter, and to treat them only as their wards till they are able to assume control of their own affairs. The number

of this latter class, however, is very limited. Consequently their voice is feeble and they fail to make any substantial impression upon the British Democracy either in the House of Commons or outside of it. Sometimes they succeed in eliciting a frank and hopeful declaration of liberal principles from a British statesman, but the failure of the latter to fulfil the expectations thus raised and the wide divergence between their principles and their conduct, between their promises and their doings, adds considerably to the complexity of the political situation. At the same time there can be no doubt that the little group of liberal and nationalist M. P's who take interest in the affairs of their Empire beyond the seas, by raising their voice against the oppression directed towards the subject people and by pleading for right and justice in their dealings with the latter, render an inestimable service to the Empire. It will be an evil day for their Empire when these advocates of the application of liberal principles to the affairs of the Empire disappear from the British Parliament leaving the Jingoes a free hand in the dismemberment of the Empire, the unmanageable greatness of which has turned their little heads into pump-

kins. It is true that these gentlemen are not able to make any practical impression upon the affairs of the Government of India, but the service which they render to the cause of humanity is by no means to be despised. Their efforts help in the evolution of a sympathetic European public opinion which is a source of great encouragement to a struggling humanity. We are living in an age where complete isolation is impossible. The affairs of the different nations are so intertwined, dependent and inter-dependent upon one another that the affairs of one part of the world cannot fail to arouse the interest of the other. The sympathetic interest of the other great nations thus becomes a valuable asset to every nationality struggling for independence. Under the circumstances although I share the opinion of a large number of my countrymen that our political salvation is not likely to be achieved by begging for it at the bar of the British public, yet I sincerely think that the raising of Indian debates in the House of Commons has its own uses and the gentlemen who raise them are entitled to our gratitude. If there are any amongst my countrymen who expect that any group of members of the House of Commons

can get them a Charter of political liberty they are, I am bound to say, mistaken. It is not in their power to do so, but even if it were they would do nothing which would be opposed to the interests of their own country. An Englishman is nothing if not a patriot. But then there are patriots and patriots. There are some who think that the highest patriotism does not require the trampling under foot of less powerful nationalities. In their opinion Jingo Imperialism involves a loss of moral virtues which degrades a people and eventually prepares the ground for the subversion of those liberal principles which alone can be the basis of a democratic state.

Thanks to Liberal M. P's.

These people represent the best conscience of England, and to them I beg to offer my grateful acknowledgments for their having raised their voice against the un-English and high-handed proceedings of their own Government in deporting me without a hearing and a trial before a regularly constituted tribunal of justice. Their task was at best only a thankless task and they performed it nobly.

Quiet in the Panjab after the deportation.

There is one thing more which I think I must notice before I close this part of my introduction. Failing to justify my deportation on its own merits the authorities have maintained that the result justified the step. The Panjab, it is maintained, has been quiet ever since. It is characteristic of human nature that a drowning man catches at a straw.

Being conscious of their failure to satisfy the public conscience of the justice of their proceedings, they fall back upon the old jesuitical plea that the end justified the means. But here again, I am afraid, they are not on firm ground. The so-called excitement in the Punjab in the spring of 1907 was explained by me in a letter written on the day of my arrest and published in the *Panjabee* two days after (*Vide* appendix B). No one has yet been able to controvert the facts stated therein. The principal fact was the agitation over the Act which affected the rights of the colonists in the Chenab Canal Colony. This Act having been vetoed, the chief cause of excitement was removed. The deportations, the wholesale arrests and searches at Rawalpindi and the public meetings

Ordinance no doubt played their part in stunning and demoralising the educated classes, but the excitement not being due to any direct action of these classes their own demoralization could not have killed the agitation outright, if the Colonies Act had not been withdrawn. It should not be ignored that this Act affected the educated classes also, as a good number of their leading men had proprietary interests in the Colony which they considered were threatened by the proposed legislation. This was the common platform upon which the educated and the uneducated had joined hands. The platform having been removed from under their feet the combination ceased and the cohesion gave way. The result would have been exactly the same even if the deportations had not taken place.

Present Situation.

Having disposed of the deportation and the grounds alleged in support of it, I wish to address a few words to my countrymen on the present situation, though this is hardly the proper place to give my opinions in full relating to it. I want to say only one word.

That we have entered on stormy days is patent to every one. Who raised the storm and

how, are matters, a discussion of which is not likely to help us materially in suggesting measures which may enable us to get through it successfully. That the Government is chiefly responsible for it, none need doubt, though it is questionable whether even the Government could altogether avoid it. It is all very well to be wise after the event, but wisdom at the right moment is a rare commodity. The Government in India is composed of human units, every one of whom has his personal idiosyncracies, failings and weaknesses. And so have the people. It is fruitless to attempt to apportion the blame between the two. It is sufficient if both parties appreciate the gravity of the situation and try to meet it in such a way as may lead to the peaceable settlement of the problems involved. The Government know their business and I do not presume to advise them. But I have a right to speak to my own people and claim their indulgence. To them I say, "weigh the situation coolly and calmly. Do not over-estimate your capacites, nor under-estimate your difficulties; make an exact estimate of both and then proceed with a determination and firmness worthy of *men*." It is true there can be no gains without incur-

ring risks. But nations, circumstanced like ours, are not made or saved by dare-devil methods or by a boldness which does not count upon the likely losses and risks. The road is uphill and infested with dangers. The number of pioneers who have to go forward and clear the ground as sappers and miners is few and far between. Any uncalled for and unnecessary sacrifice of life and energy is a crime greater and more heinous than any, of which any one can be guilty in his individual interests. Indians who have consecrated their lives to the service of their country are no longer their own masters and have no right to throw away their lives like mad men. By doing so we cut the very ground-roots of the tree over which we have sought an asylum. It may be *heroic* to die under an impulse of patriotic duty but it is nobler to resist the temptation and live a life of renunciation and sacrifice. Life must precede death. To die nobly one must first learn to live nobly. Noble is the death which towers the edifice of a well-lived life, a life lived for principle, for the motherland and for humanity. One does at times feel that perhaps the sons of India care more for life and the comforts of life than for honor. They were not

so in olden times. Their present callousness to honor is a proof of their degradation, but this makes it all the more necessary that those in whom the consciousness of a duty towards their country and towards a life of honour has awakened, ought to try to live as long as they can, consistently with their ideals of honorable life. An honorable death is no doubt better than a dishonorable life, but an honorably lived life is infinitely superior to a death under a short-bred impulse. The number of those who can and are willing to die for their country or to live for it is exceedingly limited. It is a pure waste of valuable material to allow their ranks to be thinned by recklessness.

The country is in a state of transition. The different parts of it vary in the stages of their development. Some parts are yet far behind. Their political consciousness has yet to dawn. Moreover, they greatly differ in intellectual calibre, religious fervour, social purity and physical backbone. In the matter of education, too, there is a great deal of divergence. The ideas that have filtered downward to the masses in one province are yet only on the surface in another. The

social environments, too, are different. It is impossible, therefore, to speak of the situation from the standpoint of the most advanced and the best developed parts of the country without qualifications and limitations which considerably take away from the value of such generalisations when put to practical test. Every responsible man has, therefore, to work (speak and act) under restraints imposed by the conditions of life surrounding him. It is no use fretting at things which must take time to change. Nor is it profitable to cavil at conditions over which one has no control. I do not claim any intimate knowledge of the conditions of life in Bengal, Bombay and Madras, but, knowing Upper India as I do, I must say that the conditions of life prevailing there require the services of a large number of capable and devoted public men whose sole or first care should be their country, before the political consciousness of the people can reach the level it occupies in the better educated and better developed provinces. The responsibilities of public life, in Upper India, require a clearer and a bolder conception. This, however, is not to be gained by the irresponsible talk of undisciplined enthusiasm, much less by violent methods. The man is unfit to be a

leader who is not capable of taking a dispassionate view of things in times of excitement when passions have been roused up to a high pitch. But a coward is he whose calculations of personal interest and personal safety do not let him take a higher and broader view of life when the right moment comes. Real wisdom lies in doing the right thing at the right time. Real courage consists in not flying from the consequences of one's acts when the latter overtake him. Bravado is not manliness, nor rashness patriotism. There should be no halting or faint-heartedness after a thing has been well thought out, but doing things merely under spasmodic impulse, without devoting the necessary thought to their *pros* and *cons* is neither politic nor wise. Having passed the period of tutelage we are no longer children to be led by the nose by others. "It remains to us to throw aside the youthful overconfidence and the no less youthful discouragement of nonage. We are grown men, and must play the man

> strong in will
> To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield,

cherishing the good that falls in our way, and bearing the evil, in and around us, with stout

hearts set on diminishing it. So far, we all may strive in one faith towards one hope:

> It may be that the gulfs will wash us down,
> It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles,
>
> . . . . but something ere the end,
> Some work of noble note may yet be done."

Before I close, however, I have to tender my most affectionate thanks to all classes of my countrymen who sympathised with me in my trouble. The feeling evoked in the country by the deportation was simply wonderful. I have met with innumerable proofs of it since my return. They have touched the deepest chords of my heart and I wish I had deserved at least a hundredth part of what my countrymen think of me. Barring certain classes of Indians who live and prosper on calumniating their own countrymen and whose chief business in life consists in carrying tales to the foreign rulers of the land, the whole country entered an emphatic protest against the deportation, from the Himalayas to the Cape and from Diamond Harbour to Karachi. I do not know if within the memory of man any other act of the British Government ever evoked a similarly universal outburst of indignation. The whole country spoke like one man irres-

pective of caste or creed. The Mohammedan merchants of Ahmedabad and Surat gave a crushing reply to the lie circulated by Anglo-Indian journalists that the Mohammedans were happy at my deportation and had no sympathy with me. One of the big representative gatherings of Mohammedans held in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh that was reported to have expressed satisfaction at my deportation was attended by seven men only. My thanks are equally due to the large number of my countrymen outside India. Students or traders, lawyers or doctors, merchants or manufacturers, in London or in Paris, in Great Britain or in America, in South Africa or in the East, in Japan or in Mauritius, all combined to protest against the deportation and to express their joy on my release. I do not know how to adequately thank them. I am fully conscious of having done nothing to deserve such universal marks of love and respect from my countrymen. My services in the cause of my country are too insignificant to fully account for all this. I can only ascribe it to that growing sense of national unity that has found a sudden realisation within the last three years and which has simply surprised both friends and foes. I thank God for hav-

2. Argument. Excuse. Defe

ing spared me to see it, and my earnest prayer is that I may have the strength to do my duty to my country in this all-important period of its life. As a Hindu it is my devout prayer that I may be born again and again in this Land of the Vedas to contribute my *Karma* to the corporate *Karma* of the nation.

My best thanks are also due to my friend Mr. Madanjit of Rangoon and Mr. P. J. Mehta who sent me a large number of good and useful books which enabled me to pass my days of confinement with comparative ease.

LAHORE:
June 15th 1908.

LAJPAT RAI.

18th September 1933.

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MUNSHI RADHAKRISHAN.
(FATHER OF LALA LAJPAT RAI.)

2. Hint or whisper. Intimation.
2. Slight Knowledge.

THE STORY OF MY DEPORTATION.

CHAPTER I.

BEFORE THE ARREST.

I was arrested on the 9th of May 1907 at 2 P. M.; but before stating the facts relating to my arrest, I should like to narrate briefly the events of the nine days preceding it as many people seem to be anxious to know if I had any inkling of what actually took place on the day of my arrest. From the fact that the request has come from so many quarters and from so many people, I presume that I am expected to give a short account of what happened immediately preceding my arrest.

Rawalpindi Incidents.

It was on the 30th April that the telegraph brought the news of the now historic notice served on three of my lawyer friends at Rawalpindi by the District Magistrate of that place. This

notice furnishes a typical illustration of the extent of legal knowledge and judicial acumen of a large number of the Deputy Commissioners of this Province, and, therefore, deserves a permanent place in the history of British administration in the Panjab. It also illustrates the evil of combining executive functions with judicial in the person of one officer. I therefore reproduce it below *in extenso*.

The Illegal Notice.

"LALA GURDAS RAM, ADVOCATE, LALA HANSRAJ, PLEADER, LALA AMOLAK RAM, PLEADER—It has been reported to me that a meeting was held in the City not long ago at which a person named Ajit Singh was the principal speaker. Lala Hansraj is said to have been the President, Lala Amolak Ram the Secretary and Convener of the meeting, and Lala Gurdas Ram one of the speakers. It is reported to me that the speech of Ajit Singh was of an extremely seditious character. The speech of Lala Gurdas Ram partook of the same character, and contained also some disgusting and unseemly expressions with regard to Mr. Kitchen, Settlement Collector and Magistrate. I hereby give you notice that I shall hold a public enquiry into the above matters at 11 A. M. on 2nd May. You are invited to be present and anything you may wish to say will be duly heard. The enquiry is held with two

2. quickness of perception. Keen — cernment 2. At full length. 3. One who calls together a meeting. The chairman of a committee. 3.

objects in view: (1) Should the evidence be considered sufficient, with a view to asking the sanction of Government for your prosecution under sections 124-A and 505, Indian Penal Code; (2) In order to report the facts which the enquiry may establish as proved to the Financial Commissioner and the Chief Court with a view to action being taken to suspend your licenses as Revenue Agents, or to take action under Sections 41, 37 of the Legal Practitioners Act as the case may be. Please write 'seen' below this. (Signed) P. D. Agnew, District Magistrate, 30th April 1907."

I may say in passing that this notice was perfectly illegal, the District Magistrate having no power under the Criminal Law or the Legal Practitioners Act to do any thing of the kind. Never before, since the introduction of British Law in India, has any such notice been known to be issued. The object of the District Magistrate evidently was to disgrace, insult and annoy the persons concerned and to strike terror among the people.

All the three gentlemen mentioned in this document were persons whose friendship it was a privilege to enjoy and cherish, the first two being men who were looked upon as leaders of the national movement in this province and whom I have always looked up to, as men worthy of my respect and admiration for the

many qualities of head and heart they possess and the third being a friend to whom I was bound by very intimate ties of personal attachment. On hearing the news of their impending trouble, I thought I was in duty bound, to proceed to Rawalpindi and extend to them my friendly sympathy and such professional advice and assistance as I was capable of rendering. So without enquiring from them or without knowing if they required my services, I left for Rawalpindi by the Calcutta Mail on the 1st of May and reached there the same evening at 8 P. M. As usual I proceeded straight to the house of the late Lala Gurdas Ram Sawhny. At night some of us had a short consultation, at which Lala Amolak Ram was not present, as he was not well enough to attend. After a short discussion we arrived at the conclusion that the notice of the District Magistrate being illegal and unprecedented, Lalas Hans Raj, Gurdas Ram and Amolak Ram should not respond to it in person and should take no part in the contemplated proceedings, but that Mr. Aziz Ahmed and Mr. Bodh Raj Sawhny (who is Lala Hans Raj's son) Barristers-at-Law should appear in Court and watch the proceedings on their behalf.

Next morning at 10 o'clock, I went to Court with the late Lala Gurdas Ram Sawhny and found that people were coming in large numbers to witness the proceedings. The time fixed for the proceedings to begin, was 11 A. M. But long before that time the whole compound of the Court premises was one surging mass of human faces and heads. I did not wonder at this impressing scene, for I knew that Lalas Hansraj, Amolak Ram and Gurdas Ram were very popular amongst all classes of people and were loved and respected universally; but it was soon brought to my notice that the presence of that vast crowd was not wholly to be accounted for by the popularity of the gentlemen involved and that it was partially due to labour-strikes that had taken place the same morning in the Government Arsenal and at the Railway Work-shop. The Deputy Commissioner, who was expected every minute, came late and it could be observed that the people were getting impatient at the delay. At last he arrived at about 12-30 P. M. in a tonga and at once proceeded to his seat in Court, whereupon the people rushed in to get admittance into the Court-room. Counsel putting in appearance, the District Magistrate

Scene in Court.

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announced that the enquiry would not proceed that day, and that fresh intimation would be given of the next date, if any, that might be fixed for the enquiry. The Deputy Commissioner further requested Counsel (Mr. Aziz Ahmad) to ask the crowd to disperse, upon which the latter remarked that neither he nor his clients were responsible for the presence of the crowd in Court and that it was the business of the District Magistrate to disperse them. It may be noted that the District Superintendent of Police was also present in Court at the time. This news was received by the multitude with mixed feelings of disappointment and triumph—triumph at the District Magistrate having apparently shirked the enquiry and disappointment at the prospect of its being resumed on another date. Some of the men were heard saying that they could not afford to come again—as if their presence was very necessary for the proper conduct of the enquiry. I mention this fact in order to give an idea of the intensity of the popular feeling excited by the District Magistrate's high-handed action against persons who were believed to be champions of the people's cause and whose public zeal had brought trouble on their devoted heads. By way of a reply to the

District Magistrate's order postponing the enquiry, the crowd requested the lawyers concerned to accompany them to the city in a procession, which the latter very properly refused to do. The crowd, however, was not in a mood to go away quietly and messages began to pour in upon me to address them there and then, a request which I refused at once without the slightest hesitation. Upon this they pressed me to promise them an open air address in the afternoon. Although I was very reluctant to agree to this, I ultimately yielded to pressure. By this time the crowd had begun to melt away and people were retracing their steps towards the city. A little later came the news that an unruly portion of the crowd had separated from the rest and was doing damage in the compound of the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow and that a number of persons had proceeded to the house of the District Judge. Every one present in the Bar Association room, where I was sitting, felt shocked at this strange and unexpected development. I had hardly had time to speak out my mind when some one quite spontaneously suggested that the crowd had evidently been led to excesses by the police in plain clothes in order to bring more serious trouble on the lawyers. All present,

who knew the character of the local police, seemed to accept this explanation as a matter of course. Every one, however, began to look towards the District Magistrate's room evidently expecting that he would go out to stop the riot, but he did not leave his Court-room until news was received that the rioters had left the Civil Lines and were proceeding towards the *Company Bagh* (Public Gardens.) Lala Hansraj Sawhny had his cases to attend to, and I well remember the expression of horror on his face when returning from a Court-room where he had been doing his professional work, he heard the news of the excesses committed by the mob on their way to the city. I do not exactly remember at what time I left the Court, but shortly after this, I in company with my friend Mr. Gurdas Ram Sawhny came to his house where we took luncheon.

The Prohibited Meeting.

At about 4. P. M. we proceeded to the house of Lala Hansraj Sawhny and found that he was not feeling well and was in bed suffering from toothache. We, however, prevailed upon him to accompany us to the meeting place 2 as his absence was likely to be misconstrued, and as in our opinion it was proper for

2 To interpret wrongly.

him to express his indignation at what the mob had done that afternoon. As we were proceeding to the place of the meeting somebody came and informed us that the Deputy Commissioner wanted me and that the meeting had been prohibited as illegal. The road to the meeting place passed by the spot where the Deputy Commissioner was sitting on a chair surrounded by a strong *posse* of police force. The District Superintendent of Police was also present. A strong guard of police armed with rifles was just then responding to the order of 'fall in'

Deputy Commissioner's Version.

What happened next may be described in the words of the Deputy Commissioner himself according to the evidence he subsequently gave in the riot-trials at Rawalpindi before the Special Magistrate :—

"Some time between five o'clock and half-past, there was a sound of cheering among the crowd. I was sitting outside under some trees. Lala Lajpat Rai appeared in front of the Police Station accompanied by ten or twelve people who, I thought, were pleaders, among whom I recognised though I did not much attend to the matter at the time, Lala Hansraj, who was immediately next to me.

Lala Gurdas Ram, who was at the other end of the semi-circle into which they formed themselves, and a minor pleader whose name I think is Nanak Chand. I said to Lajpat Rai, 'I forbid this meeting which you intend to hold in the Mandee. We have a body of twenty-five police here ready with carbines loaded, whom I shall order to fire if the meeting does not disperse, and you will be one of the first to suffer.' I also said to Lala Hans Raj and Lala Gurdas Ram, 'I hold you responsible for what happened this morning.' Lajpat Rai said that he objected to the tone of these remarks and that he knew the law. I think that remark was addressed to Mr. Tomkins. I said I was not there to listen to objections, but he was there to hear my orders, which were that no meeting was to be held and that he and the pleaders were to go home at once."

The Panjabee's Account.

This is slightly different from the telegram that appeared in the 'Panjabee' that very evening and which gave a more accurate version of what actually happened :—

"After the District Magistrate's postponing the enquiry, it was announced at the earnest request of the crowd that Lala Lajpat Rai will address a meeting at the Carnac Ganj in the evening. At about

one hour before the time fixed the District Magistrate with the Superintendent of Police came and sat at the Police Station and proclaimed an order declaring the proposed meeting unlawful. At about 5-30 when Lala Hans Raj Sawhny, Lala Gurdas Ram, Lala Hans Raj Bhandari and others in company with the lecturer were going to the place of the meeting, they were intercepted on the way by orders of the Deputy Commissioner who wanted to see them stop. The District Magistrate asked who Lala Lajpat Rai was and upon the latter presenting himself, he said "I as District Magistrate have forbidden the meeting, distributed buckshots in the Police, got out the cavalry, and my instructions are that if attempt is made to hold the meeting, the police should fire. I, therefore, order that you should quickly go home and hold no meeting." Addressing Lala Hans Raj he said, "I hope you are satisfied with to-day's work; this is a direct result of yesterday's meeting and the one held before, which I call seditious. I think to-day's meeting is also likely to be seditious. I have, therefore, forbidden it and declare it unlawful. In case of serious consequences I hold you, Lala Amolak Ram, the Secretary, and (pointing out towards Lala Gurdas Ram), you, and (pointing out towards Lala Lajpat Rai) you also, responsible. You understand that?" Upon which Mr. Tomkins, District Superintendent Police, advanced further and addressing Lala Lajpat Rai said "you should understand that you will be responsible." Upon which the latter replied "I know my responsibility, knowing as I do, a bit of

the law, and I have heard the orders." The District Magistrate repeated what he said before saying that this evening's meeting was likely to be seditious, to which Lala Lajpat Rai replied "I object to these remarks. I have heard the orders." The District Magistrate said "I know you object, I have given my orders and you better clear out." To this Lala Lajpat Rai replied "I have not come here of my own accord. I have been sent for by you." The party then returned and explained the order of District Magistrate to the people assembled."

All through the night disquieting rumours kept coming in, of arrests, of removal of persons arrested to the jail, of high-handedness of the police and so on.

Next morning at 10 A. M. Mr. Gurdas Ram Sawhny and myself went to Court as usual, but as I had no particular business there, I returned very shortly after, in company with Lala Amolak Ram who was not feeling well. Lala Hans Raj did not attend Court that morning as the evening before he had his bad tooth extracted and had slight fever also.

The Arrest of the five lawyers.

At about 3 P. M. or shortly before, as I was having a little rest, I was aroused by one of the servants of Mr. Gurdas Ram by his informing me that the latter had been arrested and taken to jail.

I at once got up, dressed and drove to the Court, where the news was confirmed. I came to know there that five warrants had been issued, that two of them had been executed by the arrests of Messrs. Gurdas Ram Sawhny and Khazan Singh, Barristers-at-Law, and that two more were meant for Lalas Hans Raj and Amolak Ram and that it was not known whom was the fifth for. People began to surmise that it might be for me. We were, however, talking in this strain when a body of British Cavalry were heard approaching the Bar Association Rooms and we were told that Pandit Janki Nath Kaul had been arrested. Lalas Hans Raj and Amolak Ram were just then seen seated in a tonga and escorted by the British Cavalry. Lala Amolak Ram was, however, all smiles and gave no signs of discomfiture. Lala Hans Raj was observed giving a spirited reply to a Police Officer who wanted to whisper some patronizing advice in his ear. As soon as the prisoners were removed, an application for bail was made to the Sessions Judge but it was promptly refused.

Then after a short consultation it was decided that I should at once leave for Lahore with a view to arrange for bail in the Chief Court. Consequently I had to run to the

railway station to catch the Punjab Bombay Mail which was leaving at about 4 P. M. I caught the train, though my kit, &c., were all left behind. All this occurred on the 3rd of May, 1907. On the 4th, an application was made to the Chief Court for bail. The Chief Judge ordered (contrary to all previous practice observed in such proceedings) that the same be heard by a Bench consisting of himself and a Barrister Judge. The application was opposed by the Government Advocate and the Judges could come to no definite decision. Eventually they ordered that the necessary facts not having been laid before them at the time, they wanted to hear the application again on Monday, on which date they expected the Government Advocate to be in possession of sufficient material to enable them to come to a decision. On Monday the Deputy Commissioner appeared in person and handed over a statement and also a letter from the Officer Commanding the Rawalpindi Station. This latter document was not shown to Counsel who argued the application for the petitioners. The application was ultimately rejected. Next day an application for a copy of this document was refused upon which one of the Counsel, engaged in the case, applied for its inspection

2. personal equipment, esp. as packed for travelling.

on payment of the usual fee, which application too was not granted. What the public thought of these proceedings may best be gathered from the following comments which appeared in the *Panjabee* of the 8th May and which faithfully represent my feelings in the matter :—

Rowdyism in Lahore and Pindi.

"A letter from Constantinople, dated April 5th, published in the *Times of India* (weekly edition of the 1st of May 1907) contains the following about the ways of the secret Police of Turkey : "In Turkey," says the *Times of India* correspondent, "the bomb-thrower is generally a member of the Secret Police—thirsting for promotion—it matters not to him whether men are killed or not so long as his version of the occurrence obtains credence in the Sultan's eyes. If this is achieved his future is assured. Great honours await him, and though he may not go down to the grave respected, he dies envied for his success in mundane affairs." Since the second outburst of rowdyism in Lahore it has several times been suggested to us that these fresh outbursts are probably due to the zeal of Police Officers in white clothes. That the desire for pro-

motion" or "success in affairs mundane" by display of zeal is not confined to the Turkish Policemen, but has many times been proved or suspected to be at the bottom of many a *chalan* (prosecution charge sheet) and confession in India, is a fact well known to everybody who has ever had anything to do with the administration of justice. That the authorities should have by this time failed in finding out the real culprits of the excesses said to have been committed on the 16th of April lends weight to this conjecture. The excesses at Rawalpindi are believed to be the work of the same agency. The scene in Anarkali on the night of Friday last is also another evidence of the same type according to some very respectable eye-witnesses. Under the circumstances is it too much to ask the authorities to look into the matter more impartially and cool-headedly than they are likely to do under police inspiration? To us most of the panic in evidence in ruling circles all over the province is due to exaggerated and false reports of the Government detective agency, and we are both amused as well as sorry to find that the Government should have lost their head over these false reports.

"The situation in the Panjab has become critical. The arrest of the leaders at Rawalpindi and the subsequent proceedings show that the Government has entered on a policy of repression. * * * The Government have evidently decided to strike at the leaders irrespective of the political opinions held by them and to terrorise the smaller fry and the public. The arrests at Pindi are the first signal. The so-called judicial proceedings taken subsequently show what sort of prudence or judgment people should expect from the judiciary in cases of this nature. On the day the leaders were arrested there was no evidence against them either under Section 124 A or under Sections 436, 147, or 109. At least none was recorded. The Sessions Judge rejected the application for bail without satisfying himself that there was any evidence connecting the accused with the alleged acts of incendiarism. He was influenced by the report of the District Magistrate to the effect that release on bail would be followed by further riots and mischief. The same dodge succeeded in the Chief Court also. Any one could read the faces of the learned Judges composing the Bench of the Chief Court

The Situation.

that rejected the application for bail. The signs of a struggle between their judicial instincts and their executive fears were too apparent to be missed. Their judicial conscience forced them to constantly ask the Government Advocate as to how the evidence as to seditious speeches connected the accused with the mischief by fire said to have been caused by the rioters. No reply was forthcoming, but still the opinion of the District Magistrate and that of Officer Commanding, Rawalpindi station, which was before them, so to say, forced their hands and they eventually yielded to the grounds of expediency. The first act of this drama has thus been played and a thick curtain has, for the present, fallen. If there is any indication of what is to follow the people should be prepared for the worst, and under the circumstances we may very well weigh the situation and settle our future plans.

What to do?

"The Pindi proceedings naturally have aroused wide indignation. But all the same they strongly appeal to our sense of vanity as well. They excite our laughter also. The Government have practically given way to demoralisation, and we pity them for this

display of weakness. Is this all the strength, of which the Anglo-Indians so much boasted? What does it come to? It is a sad confession of the existence of extreme unrest, and of the force of the agitation which has evidently, according to this official admission, taken hold of the Panjab. Will Mr. Morley still say that he does not believe in the existence of unrest? The Panjab Government has completely shaken his statement to pieces. Will anybody believe that the Government has resorted to these extreme measures to kill a few *gnats* only? What does the calling out of the Military, Indian and British, display? We will not reply for the Government. Is there no one to point out to the Government what a ridiculous figure they cut when every time there is some proceeding connected with a sedition case in the Chief Court they exhibit their weakness with an entirely disproportionate display of police force? Oh, what has the mighty British Government in India come to! However, we need not be much anxious about the prestige of the Government. The question that arises to our lips is how to continue our work in this crisis. On this subject we venture to give a piece of advice and warning to our people. The first thing is to

continue our work manfully and fearlessly, unless it is actually stopped by executive or magisterial orders. Meeting after meeting should be called in order to give opportunities to the Magistracy to declare them unlawful and to disperse them by force. Of course, political work should be carefully dissociated from rowdyism of all sorts. We do not believe there is much of rowdyism in our Province. We are convinced that rowdyism in Pindi was the work of the secret police. This is the only way for these worthy agents of the Government to justify the alarming reports which they make to Government. Having made these false reports, they join the mob and then set examples of rowdyism, thus creating further work for themselves and others. Friday's scene in Anarkali Bazar may be traced to the same causes.

Be cool but firm; law-abiding but manly.

"But in spite of this we beg to warn all people against the danger of degrading political work to the level of small and shabby acts of rowdyism. We know that disregard of laws by Government officers leads to lawlessness on the part of the people

but we would beg our people to keep their heads cool and save the situation by not forgetting even for a minute that they are engaged in a very sacred mission—that of gaining political status. Their work should in no case be defiled by small and mean acts. We do not believe any Indian can ever be capable of insulting ladies unless his moral sense has been entirely warped by constant espionage in the service of a foreign Government or unless he has completely lost his balance of mind by anger. Indians have a very great regard for females, say what the Europeans may. To a Hindu his wife is only a part and parcel of his own self, and *every other woman on earth*, whoever she may be, is a *Devi* (goddess) to be respected like a mother or a sister. Nor have the Hindus ever earned any name for cowardly attacks on isolated men and wayfarers. We decline to believe that any Hindu has been guilty of these degrading acts in the recent disturbances. These are the acts of *gundas*, whoever they may be. Subject to this warning we hope the Panjabees will preserve a manly attitude on this occasion. Firm and dignified, they should not relax their efforts for political rights. The British laws are so far sufficiently wide and liberal as to leave

them a good margin for steady and zealous work on constitutional lines. Let us, therefore, studiously keep ourselves within the law. Acting within the law, let the Executive or the Magistracy stop our work by force or illegal orders. If political work in this province is to be stopped, let it not be stopped out of fear for our personal safety, or out of panic. Let the Government stop it by order. If any such orders are given let us obey them. Obedience of such orders will, we are sure, recoil on the heads of the Government and force people to seek other methods of carrying on their political propaganda. Our work so far has been open, carried on in broad daylight, within the bounds of the law, and without the slightest disregard of the authorities."

These notes must have been written on the 6th and the 7th of May under the fullest consciousness of an impending storm. A friend who happened to see some high European officers in these days informed me in confidence that they were gnashing their teeth and thought that I was the source of all mischief and should be dealt with strongly and summarily. He suggested the advisability of my being on guard and giving them at least no future opportunity of in-

volving me. From another source I came to know that my speech at Lyallpur was being closely scrutinized with a view to instil sedition from it. Another friend warned me on the authority of a person who is known to be in the confidence of high officers that I stood in danger of being treated like Bhai Ram Singh,* the head ofthe *Kúkás*. Some suggested that I should leave Lahore and let the storm pass. But the reply I gave to one and all was that having done nothing by which the authority of the law could be invoked against me and not being conscious of having done anything by which the executive arm of the Government could legitimately be brought down on me I feared neither the one nor the other. My sole thought then was to do something for my Rawalpindi friends, as the consciousness that while they were in jail I was sleeping comfortably at home made me very miserable and restless. I wanted to be as near them as I possibly could, *viz.*, at Rawalpindi, but the knowledge that their friends and relatives did not favour the idea and would rather not have me at Rawalpindi,

* Bhai Ram Singh was the head of a religious sect of the Sikhs who were believed to have political designs. In 1872 he was deported to Burma under Regulation III of 1818 without a trial where he subsequently died.

deterred me from going there. The attitude of some of them was such that it led me to suspect that perhaps they attributed their misfortunes to my presence at Rawalpindi and that they were anxious to dissociate themselves from me. Under the circumstances all I could do was to send to my friends in lock-up a message of sympathy coupled with an offer that my services were at their disposal whenever required and that it was out of deference to the wishes of those who were in charge of their case that I was not at Rawalpindi. Having sent this message to my friends in trouble I set myself to work for them in other ways. The proposal to hold an indignation meeting at Lahore, to be followed by similar meetings elsewhere, met with a prudent shaking of the head and had to be given up. It was, however, suggested in the interests of our Rawalpindi friends that all personal differences should be sunk and that concerted measures should be taken to help them in every possible way. I acted on the suggestion at once and waited upon a gentleman with whom I was generally credited to be not on good terms. In the course of all this I never thought even for a moment of any asylum for myself. The rumours of my impending arrest, how-

ever, were so thick and persistent that I thought it necessary to speedily dispose off all such correspondence as needed my immediate attention, so that no letters of any importance may remain unanswered.

The other thing I did was to prepare my father for the coming catastrophe. My wife, my daughter, who had been widowed only about two months before, and my youngest son were just then away on a visit to my brothers-in-law at Ludhiana. Of my own family the only one that was at that time at Lahore was my eldest son. That my wife and my daughter were away was a source of satisfaction to me because in case of an arrest followed by a search, if any, I did not want to have any domestic scenes. Of all my people the only one whose memory troubled me much was my aged father. All my life had been a continued struggle between my filial sense of obedience to my father and my sense of duty towards my country. Often had I displeased him by acts which he could not approve and sanction, but never had his displeasure gone so far as to induce him to break with me. Temporary displeasure and disapproval notwithstanding, he had always been my guardian angel. His hair had become prematurely

grey in his anxiety for my health. For months and months even in his old age he had nursed me day and night and never left my bedside even for a moment, when every one else had despaired of my life. This passionate attachment to me had been the mainspring of his life and the principal moderating influence that had prevented me from breaking all ties of blood and relationship in favour of a life of renunciation. It was the influence of his high character and his moral rectitude that had given a spiritual bent to my mind. Ever since I became a man, the one principal consideration that was always present to my mind had been my extreme solicitude to avoid his displeasure. In my household he was always the chief ruler in all domestic matters, and except in matters affecting my public life his will was law for me and mine.

It was only natural, then, that at this time of apprehended trouble he should be uppermost in my mind. Consequently my first thought was to prepare him and to beg of him not to give himself up to grief in case of anything untoward happening to me. I have mentioned all this to explain why I thought of him and of no one else in my family.

The following is a literal translation of the letter that I wrote to him, I think, two days before my arrest. The original is in Urdu and bears no date as it was evidently written in a hurry :—

"MY DEAR FATHER,

I saw your telegram of yesterday to the address of Ranpatrai. Here rumours are thickening (*garam*) about my impending arrest, though it is difficult to say how far they are well-founded. I have, however, to make one respectful prayer to you, *viz.*, that whatever might befall me, you should not lose your presence of mind (*ghabráná ná*). One who plays with fire must take the chance of now and then having his face burnt. Criticising the acts of the ruling authorities is playing with fire. If there is anything which ever disturbs me, it is the idea of the (consequent) trouble to you. I would, therefore, very much like to have your assurance that my arrest will not upset you. What of me, if poor Lalas Hans Raj, Gurdas Ram and Amolak Ram are in jail (*main kis ginti men hún*). In any case this is no time for displaying cowardice. On the other hand, whatever comes should be manfully borne. * * * * Plague is still raging here. The College will open on the 13th, but

Pyare Kishen (my second son, who was with my father on account of the prevalence of plague at Lahore) should not return before the 13th. I am feeling no trouble and you need not bother yourself about me. (*áp parwáh ná karen*).

* * * * *

Your obedient Servant,
LAJPAT RAI."

The portions of this letter omitted dealt with private affairs. They contained an oral gift of my immovable property at Jagraon in favour of my sons with a request to my father to have the same duly transferred in their names in the Revenue Records. The information given to me about the intentions of the Government to deal with me as they had previously dealt with Bhai Ram Singh, the head of the Kukas, led me to study the law on the subject, *viz.*, Regulation III of 1818. A persual of the Regulation was, however, reassuring ; as being fully conscious of having done nothing to deserve summary deportation under that Regulation, I could not persuade myself to believe that the Punjab Government, presided over at the time by a man whose sense of his own resources as well as of the omnipotence of Anglo-Indian power in the Punjab was simply unbounded, would be

likely to publish to the world such a confession of their weakness as the deportation of my humble self was bound to imply. Having, however, prepared myself for the worst, the idea of an attempt to escape having not even for a moment ever entered my head, I set myself to do what I considered my duty towards my friends at Rawalpindi and towards my country. I wrote letters to some Indian leaders in the other Provinces informing them of the situation in the Punjab and also penned a letter to Sir William Wedderburn as President of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress enclosing certain papers on the administration of the Chenab Canal Colony. Two days before the English Mail day, I had posted a letter to a friend in England saying that I was posting that letter so early as there was no knowing if I would be free to write one on the Mail day. I informed him of the situation in the Punjab and of rumours about my arrest. My apprehension, however, did not prove to be quite precise, as I was spared to write some letters on the morning of the Mail day. I was writing a letter for the Press on the political situtation in the Panjab, when some of my friends, amongst them Lala Hans Raj ji, Principal of the D. A.-V. College, Lahore,

came at about 10 A. M. that day to ask me to accompany them on an outing. I replied that I had no time nor was I in a mood to go out for a picnic. They tried to persuade me, saying that I was wasting myself in fruitless anxieties and so on, but I stuck to my refusal, giving them to understand by my tone that it was no use dissuading me from my self-imposed task. Without caring to express any regret for my apparently uncivil and blunt replies to friends for whom I had the greatest respect, I proceeded with the work and finished it before taking breakfast. After breakfast I again wrote a letter or two and then dressed to go to the Chief Court. I had no work in Court that day, but two days before a client had left Rs. 350 with me with instructions to engage a senior counsel and to file a miscellaneous application for revision in a certain case of his. I put the money in my pocket and ordered my carriage, with the object of carrying out my client's behest. The unposted letters and the letter for the Press also were in my hand when my Munshi informed me that two gentlemen wanted to see me. What took place then and after is related in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II.

THE ARREST AND THE DEPORTATION.

On being informed that two gentlemen wanted me outside I went out to receive them and found Lala Ganga Ram, Inspector, Anarkali Police, and Munshi Rahmat Ullah, Inspector, City Police. The latter said that the Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner wanted me, but that they could not say why and for what purpose. As I knew that the Commissioner of Lahore had been sending for different people to seek their intercession to allay the prevailing unrest, my first thought was that I was also sent for with the same object and I told Inspector Rahmat Ullah that I had some business in Court and would see the Commissioner on my return. The Inspector, however, said that the Commissioner was at the District Office and wanted me for a few minutes, after which I could go to Court.

On this I suspected that something was wrong, and, smiling, said, "Very well, come on; my carriage is ready and we shall go together." As soon as the Inspectors and myself had got into the carriage I handed over the papers I had in my hand to my clerk and told him to go

to Court. My carriage was just passing out of the gate when I saw Mr. Rundle, the District Superintendent, Police, coming towards my house. Almost simultaneously I saw another European Officer also coming in the same direction. Both jumped on the steps of my carriage and I was no longer in doubt about the object of the police visit. Knowing Mr. Rundle, I asked him to come in and so he did. The District Police Office is only about two minutes' walk from my house. On arriving there I was told by the Commissioner, Mr. Younghusband, that I had been arrested in pursuance of a warrant issued by the Governor-General in Council, who had decided to deport me but that I would be treated with consideration. Hearing this I said that I was at his disposal. The only other persons present in that room, to the best of my knowledge, were Mr. Mant, the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Rundle, the District Superintendent Police, and another European whom I did not know. The Commissioner asked me if I wanted to see any one before being deported and my reply was a prompt "No." He then asked me if I wanted to leave any letters for my people and if I would not like to get some clothes and bedding from my place. I said

I did. He then gave me paper, pen and ink to write my letters but after consulting one of the officers present, said that my letters could not be delivered to the addressees before 6 P. M. and that my clothes and bedding would have to follow me. In a moment I decided what attitude to adopt, which was one of complete indifference to what was happening. Accepting the Commissioner's offer I wrote two letters, one in English to my friend Lala Dwarka Das and the other to my son Pyarelal. In the former I enclosed the currency notes of Rs. 350 I had in my pocket and asked him to refund the money to the client or do his work, whichever the client might prefer. I added a general wish that the few cases I had should be properly attended to, if the clients agreed to have them conducted by him, or that their fees might be returned with option to make their own arrangements. About myself after stating the fact of my arrest with a view to being deported, I said that my destination was not known, the Commissioner having told me that they were not permitted to give me that information. I asked Lala Dwarka Das not to be anxious for me at all, as I was in God's hands and whatever He did was for the best. After I had closed this letter I asked the Com-

missioner if I could keep my money with me to which he replied in the affirmative. I then extracted the notes from the letter and put them into my pocket, adding a *post scriptum* to that effect. To my son I only communicated the fact of my arrest with a wish that, in my absence, he was to obey and to console my father and look to his comforts. I asked him also to hand over a few suits of clothes and a bedding for me to the police. After I had finished these letters I was searched for fire-arms and nothing being found on my person, I was told to go with the Deputy Commissioner in his motor car, which was drawn up outside.

In the words of the *Civil & Military Gazette*, the Deputy Commissioner himself took the wheel. By his side sat the District Superintendent of Police, armed with a revolver and the back seats were occupied by myself and a European Sub-Inspector of Police. Seated in the motor car, I salammed Munshi Rahmat Ullah, the only Indian who happened to be there in sight. The Motor passed through the *Gol Bág* (Municipal Gardens) to the Upper Mall, where two Europeans driving in a cabriolet made the car stop. The District Superintendent of Police got out and had some talk with the occupants of the cabriolet. The

talk lasted for about a minute or so and then again we started and proceeded straight to Mian Mir. On getting across the canal bridge towards Mian Mir I noticed the military, both European and Native, foot and horse, coming in strong force. I also saw some pieces of artillery being carried. The sight only excited my laughter which, however, I suppressed. Shortly after, the motor car stopped in front of a European guard and I was asked to get down. The Deputy Commissioner was met by the Officer-in-Command, to whom probably he explained who I was and what was wanted of him. The officer and the Deputy Commissioner walked in front and I, between the two police officers, followed them. When we reached the quarter guard, a cell was unlocked and I was asked to walk in. The cell having been locked and a British soldier having mounted on duty, the Deputy Commissioner asked me if I wanted anything to eat and drink. My reply being in the negative, the Deputy Commissioner and the District Superintendent of Police, both left me. Having shut the door I surveyed my cell, read the copy of the prison rules hanging on the wall, took off my coat, dusted the wooden bedstead, the only piece of furniture that I found there and then stretched myself flat as I

felt a little pain in my liver. The days of May are ordinarily very hot in Lahore, but in 1907 we had the spring rains rather late and feeling some trouble in my liver I had taken the additional precaution of wearing warm clothes. It is difficult for me to say what the temperature in the cell was, but it was fairly hot, and I had to take off my waistcoat also. Here within less than an hour from my arrest, I found myself alone to think of the future before me. Having made myself comfortable on Tommy Atkins' prison bedstead of wooden planks, I began the process of self-examination. The first thing for which I gave grateful thanks to God was my good luck in having been spared a scene at the time of my arrest, which perhaps might have been difficult to avoid if my father, my wife or any of my children had been present. The second thing for which I thanked God was that my mother was dead. I was, of course, sorry for my father but I had such a strong faith in his strength of character and in his habitual presence of mind in times of misfortune that the idea of his discomfiture did not weigh very heavily on me. As for my wife and children, the thought that they were under the guardianship of my

father left no cause for serious anxiety in my mind. Having thus freed my mind from all thoughts of the family, I began to analyse my own moral and mental strength and found that there was not the least chance of a break-down. Having been a believer in the wisdom of Providence from my infancy, I found I possessed a sufficient reserve of faith to stand me in good stead in all emergencies and under all circumstances. Having thus subjected myself to a process of serious self-examination for all future purposes, I came out of the ordeal stronger and firmer than I had ever been in my life. I concluded this self-examination by a fervent prayer to my Creator to give me strength to preserve a manly, dignified and firm attitude in my tribulation and to save me from the temptation of ever doing anything consciously or unconsciouly that may in the slightest degree injure the sacred cause of my country, bring the latter into disrepute, or be a source of disgrace to the society to which I belonged. This self-examination over, I felt inclined to have a serious laugh at the move of the Government. Knowing my people so thoroughly as I did, I was amused to find the Government so hopelessly betrayed by its informants. In all this, how-

ever, I saw the hand of God, pointing out a silver lining in the dark clouds on the horizon of my country's future, brightened by the paralyzation of those forces which had kept it in chains of bondage for such a long time.

About an hour after I opened the inner door and from the gratings had a look outside. The British soldier with his bayonet resting on the ground was all attention, as if embodying the strength of the Government. Shortly after there was a change of Guard. The new sentry seemed to me to be rather fretful over this sudden call to duty. I asked him what the time was and he gave a polite answer. He then said something which I could not catch and thus ended the attempt to enter into conversation with him. At about 4 P. M. I think (it may be a little earlier or later), a police officer in uniform came to enquire if I wanted anything to eat. My reply being in the negative, he went back to fetch some water, and shortly after returned with a Hindu *Kahár* carrying a *lota* (jug) of water out of which I drank a little, and with the rest washed my face and then closed the door. Some time about 6 P. M., I heard the sound of the key being turned in the lock and

a voice calling me by name. On opening the door I found Mr. Rundle, the District Superintendent of Police, with another European member of the Police force as well as a Mohammedan Inspector or Sub-Inspector. Asked to step out, I accompanied him to the road where a landau was waiting for us. Getting into the landau we reached the military siding of the Mian Mir railway station where a train was standing and evidently awaiting our arrival. One of the Europeans present asked me to get into one of the carriages which I did, and Mr. Rundle then informed me that my letters had been delivered and wished me good evening. I was then in no mood to judge whether it was a greeting of triumph on the part of the man wishing it, or whether it was otherwise, and without a moment's reflection I gave a hearty response and took my seat. Immediately after, the train gave the whistle and I took my leave of Lahore. Looking back at the event, after a lapse of a year, I can honestly say that I never believed that it was my last farewell to Lahore. Even then I thought, as if I was going away on a short trip, though with an uncertainty as to the exact duration of my absence. As soon as the train started, the chief police

officer in charge came to my carriage, and in his presence I was again searched by the European Police Inspector present. The money in my pocket was taken away with the assurance that it would be returned to me at the end of my journey. My gold watch and chain were at first left with me but on further consideration even these were taken by the Inspector in his own personal custody. Mr.———the chief police officer in charge, then said that he was sorry that they had been forced to take that step against me but that they had done it in self-defence. I replied that I had done nothing to deserve it and that, in my opinion, the whole trouble had been caused by inexperienced, tactless, haughty English youths, being invested with large and unlimited powers. He replied that although perhaps my description may be applicable to some, but they were all under proper control and it could not be maintained that there was no check on them. In this way we conversed for a short time. Mr.——in the meantime assured me that the Government intended to treat me well and with consideration and that the sort of accommodation they had provided me with, was an evidence of their good intentions. I thanked him for his assurance and added that

to me it was not a matter of very great consequence, if the Government considered that their safety demanded my removal from Lahore. The reply, which Mr.——gave, left an impression on my mind that my removal was intended to be a temporary one and could not be continued for long. On this conversation ending, he informed me that in the police guard in the train they had two Hindu policemen who could be of use to me in the journey, that I could ask for anything I liked to eat and drink and that the Inspectors had orders to look to my comforts. He then told the Inspector to arrange for a pillow, a sheet and a blanket for me which the Inspector gave me out of his own bedding. These were the articles for which a paragraph went round the Anglo-Indian Press, holding me to the contempt of my countrymen as one who was a lip-Swadeshi not putting into practice what he preached. I then informed him of the little pain in my liver, with a request to get me a flannel bandage from somewhere in the way, which he promised to do. This promise however, he could not make good, because every one seemed to be mortally afraid of the news leaking out that I was travelling by that train. The staff on the railway was told

a that it was the Railway Board Special. The Police Guard on duty over me, consisted of a Mohammedan Sub-Inspector, six Mohammedan Constables, one Hindu Sergeant and another Hindu Constable. They were all closely watched wherever the train stopped. To resume my narrative, however, I bade good night to Mr.———— at Jandiala and prepared myself for a good night's rest. I had for some years been suffering from chronic insomnia. But the state of my mind during the night can best be judged from the fact that I enjoyed a very good sleep and my guardians had to awake me at Phillour to give me some warm milk. Next morning when I got up, the Panjab had been left behind and we were travelling on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway. Throughout the Panjab the shutters of the carriage were drawn up but on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway I was allowed to lower them between the stations. At the approach of a Railway station they were again put up. I could know and read the name of the station and thus find out the route by which we were travelling. Sometime before sunset the train stopped at a small station probably the one next to Lucknow called Mohan Lalganj. It was a very hot day but the carriage occupied by me was provided with

punkha and a punkha coolie was engaged. At this place the train halted for several hours and it looked as if the officer in charge was awaiting instructions from behind or was waiting to allow arrangements being completed at some place where we were expected. The shutters towards the station side were studiously kept closed and a close watch provided on the other side. About midnight the train started and the next long halt made was at Mughal Serai, where I asked for a bath and a change of shirt and *pajáma*. The native Sub-Inspector brought a ready-made shirt and a ready made *pajáma* for me from the local Bazar and after taking a bath I changed my clothes.

The next morning I found myself at Diamond Harbour railway station on the Eastern Bengal Railway. Very early that morning the Inspector asked his men to be ready with their bag and baggage, in anticipation of the station of destination and at daybreak everything was ready for embarking. The chief police officer in charge came to me and asked me if I knew where I was and if I could guess where I was going. I told him I knew the station as I had been there once before, and that probably I was being taken to Rangoon

or Mandalay. He must have been surprised at this, because till now my final destination had been very carefully kept secret from me.

The chief officer had, on enquiry, once said that he was not permitted to tell me where I was going to, and the subordinate police officers swore that they were themselves in the dark, although the head of the guard—I mean the Inspector—if not all the three, knew fully well where they were taking me. The arrangements of my food throughout the railway journey were extremely unsatisfactory although the policemen were otherwise very courteous. The food arrangements were left to the Police Inspector, who evidently thought that I was not entitled to better food than what his orderly cooked for himself and this was very indifferent and meagre. At about 8 A. M. or between 8 and 9 A. M. I left the carriage and walked over to the edge of the river where a ferry steam launch picked us up and carried us to the Government Steamship "Guide." Before I left the railway carriage I was made to put my thumb mark on the back of the warrant of committal as a mark of identification. I expressed a desire to send a telegram to my father. The request was not granted, but I was informed that I could write

letters which the Deputy Inspector General of Police would send home for me. I wrote two letters, one to my father and the other to my son. The former is not forthcoming but a copy of the latter has been preserved. It ran as follows:

"DIAMOND HARBOUR,
Dated 12th May 1907.

"MY DEAR SON,

I am fairly well—as well as I can be in this condition. There is one thing, however, which I assure you, *viz.*, that I am determined to keep up my spirits and not feel miserable. I am prepared to take things as they come. Please to look after your grandfather and mother. Obey them and console them and take particular care of your widowed sister and her little son. Keep well with your uncles and bear your misfortune *manfully*. The same for Piarey Krishna. See that he and Amrit do not suffer in their studies. Remember me to all my friends and tell them that I am not at all borne down by my tribulation. The same for ever.

Yours affectionately,
LAJPAT RAI."

On the river side the Deputy Inspector-General of the Panjab Police took leave of me and remarked, "you are leaving India. Let us see when you return." After I had taken my seat in the boat he took a snapshot of me, bid good-bye to the Senior Police Officer (a Bengal man) and returned to the Railway Station. The Bengal police officer was rather a rough sort of man, without any desire to be polite. There were, to the best of my memory, chairs on board the steam-launch but he never offered me one. To the European Inspector and Sub-Inspector he was all courtesy. He offered them not only chairs but tea and tobacco as well. In a short time the steam-launch stopped by the side of a ship and after the guard had removed all their luggage I stepped on board the steamer *en route* to the place of my exile. Here I noticed that a big pitcher-full of Hindu water and a basket full of *chabína* (roasted rice) and gram, etc., which are generally eaten by labourers and menials, another basket containing *átá* (flour) and *dál* (pulse), a tin containing some *ghee* (clarified butter) and some *bananas*, etc., had been brought for my use. On observing that some trouble was being felt in the removal of the pitcher of water I said

that I was not very particular about caste restrictions. The European Inspector then turned to the Captain of the ship for accommodation. The Captain pointed towards the hold as the only place which he could spare for the use of the prisoner and the guard. The European Inspector, however, took him aside with the result that he got two cabins one for his own use and the other for the European Sub-Inspector. He ordered the constables to remove their belongings to the cabins; me the Mahammadan Sub-Inspector and the constables he asked to enter that den of a hold which was stinking with nauseous smell and vitiated air. He asked us to make ourselves comfortable. Against this I protested and said that I could not stop in that hold, as I was not used to that kind of accommodation, and the Government was bound under the law to provide accomodation suitable to my position in life. This opened the eyes of the Inspector. He asked me, however, to go into the hold for a while promising that he would see the Captain about it and get better accommodation for me About an hour after he came to me and informed me that the cabin originally assigned to the European Sub-Inspector was at my

disposal and I could use it at my discretion. Evidently the Captain could not give any other cabin and so he had to make the best of a bad bargain. The cabin, however, was of no use to me as I kept on the deck all the time I was on board the steamer. The first night I slept on the upper deck, the second and the third nights, however, I and the Mohammedan Sub-Inspector both slept on the companion-deck, making the planks that covered the hold our bed. The Mohammedan constables and the Mohammedan Sub-Inspector all fell sick, the ship encountering bad weather at a very early stage of the voyage. I also felt sea-sick and could not take much food. The Hindu sergeant and the Hindu constable, however, kept well and quite enjoyed the voyage. The Mohammedan constables presented a pitiable spectacle for want of food. None of them was in a condition to cook. The food of the laskars was disagreeable and the Hindu policemen were not quite willing to cook food for them. They felt much distressed.

The European Sub-Inspector and myself helped them now and then out of our own food, but that was hardly sufficient. It excited my pity and made me rather

indignant to see half a dozen stalwart Panjabee Mohammadans practically starving on board the steamer, where they had been put on this extraordinary duty without the august Government, in whose service they were, having made any arrangements for their food &c. It made one very sad to compare the condition of these miserably paid Indians with the condition of the better paid and the better cared for Europeans. The former, all of whom with one exception were getting Rs. 7 to 9 per month, were supposed to make their own arrangements, at their own cost, for feeding themselves in the course of this voyage while the Europeans who drew much larger salaries, extending to three figures, were fed by the Government and at the cost of the latter. The steamer encountered foul weather almost all through the voyage. The European officers of the ship treated us quite indifferently. The Captain made one or two attempts to draw me out in a conversation on politics but when he began to shower choice billingsgate on the "Bande Mataram" people and Mr. Surrendra Nath Bannerjea I cut the conversation short and gave him to understand that I did not want

to continue it. The Captain was a short tempered man, and had no scruples to make his authority felt by the menials and lascars by a free use of his tongue and his fist. Once, I actually saw him using his fist on the butler. One of the junior officers, however, seemed to be a very pleasant young man and gave me a smile whenever he met me on board.

We had left Diamond Harbour before noon on the 12th and we reached Rangoon on the afternoon of the 15th. On board the steamer also, the European Police Inspector posted guards on me. Once, I remember, I laughed at it and on his asking me the reason I told him that I had no mind to drown myself as in my estimation my life was of greater value to me and my people than it was to the Government and its officers. He was, however, generally courteous and showed some anxiety to look after me. In the harbour at Rangoon I was asked to keep to my cabin lest some one going about in boats, etc., might see me. After a good deal of waiting, the Police Commissioner's launch was announced and I was transferred to the same. The Commissioner of Police a haughty old fellow more particular

about his authority and prestige than about the comfort of those entrusted to his care could not allow me a seat on the deck where he was, but ordered me to the saloon where shortly after a local police officer joined me. It was raining when the "Guide" threw anchor and it was still drizzling when we came in sight of mainland. We landed on a jetty which was all quiet and free from any kind of traffic. A few Panjabees in police uniform were, however, in evidence. A *palki gharri* was placed at my disposal. The European Inspector who had escorted me from Lahore sat by my side and a local police officer on the opposite seat.

Thus protected. and guarded against any attempt to rescue, I reached the Panduzuing Railway station. This is a small suburban station at some distance from the Railway station of Rangoon proper. We had to wait in the carriage for some time before the train actually came and I was taken, well guarded of course, across a Railway Bridge to the platform where the Mail train was drawn up. I had been looking at Burmese buildings, houses and temples, etc., on both sides of the Irawaddy from the steamer since morning.

and now I saw Burmese faces, men, women and childern, mixed up with a large number of foreigners amongst them, Indian and Chinese being particularly and prominently noticeable. From the very moment, the steamer entered the mouth of the Irawaddy I felt--I do not know, why, drawn towards Burma and its people. It may be that going there as an exile I calculated upon their sympathy and good-will. Or it may be that (with the exception of the little island of Ceylon where I had been some years before on a pleasure trip), Burma being the first Asiatic country which I was visiting, the political helplessness of Asia drew all my sympathy towards my fellow Asiatics, or it may be that the Burmese having received their religion from us, Indians, I felt a sort of kinship with them which prompted me to think well of them. Be that as it may, in Burma I did not feel the desponding sensation of being in a strange land. At Indian faces, of course, I looked with sentiments of affection, regardless of their being Hindus or Mohammedans, Panjabees, Bengalees or Madrassis. To me all of them were my own people, bound up to me by a tie which at that time appeared to me to be particularly

dearer and stronger than any other. Descending the bridge and walking between policemen both in front and in the rear, I passed by a well-dressed Panjabee gentleman, who recognized me at once. Involuntarily I read a volume of misery and grief on his face, and responded to his *salam* with a winking of my eyes. A second after, I was seated in a 1st class compartment reserved for me and my guard. In the back carriages of the train, I saw a number of Panjabee Sikhs, wearing police uniforms looking at me eagerly and talking rather excitedly. The Commissioner of Police, however, soon sent them word to keep in doors and also ordered the shutters of my compartment to be raised, a process repeated at the approach of every station right up to Mandalay, where we reached the next day between 2 and 3 P. M. The journey was uneventful except for some touching marks of respect and regret shown by the Mohammadan constables forming part of my escort. Let me state here that all through the journey from Lahore to Mandalay, I met with nothing but kindness from the Hindu and the Mohammedan policemen forming my escort. On board the steamer, they talked with me freely and I can never forget the depth of feeling displayed by a

young Mohammedan constable having a most handsome and prepossessing appearance. While deeply regretting my misfortune and almost weeping over it, he gave expression to his own and to his country's feeling of helplessness in words of deep and sincere pathos. The others—although they did not say this in so many words—expressed similar sentiments and did all that lay in their power to make me comfortable. One of them, on the railway journey from Rangoon to Mandalay, bought some Burma bananas out of his own pocket and offered the same to me. To please him I took one of them but the man insisted on my taking more, saying very feelingly that perhaps this was the last time they saw me. In return for his kindness I spoke to him in words of encouragement and asked him never to despair of the Providence. I added that something within me whispered that I was sure of returning to my country after a short absence. My words had their effect and in token of his pleasure the man clasped my feet. For the first time in my life, perhaps, did the noble purity of the Indian mind, uninitiated in the hypocritical gloss of the Western civilization, burst upon my soul in its full and original grandeur. Here was

an Indian, holding a different faith from mine, belonging to a poverty-ridden peasantry, whom circumstances had driven to accept service in the Police on a pittance of seven or eight rupees per month, ready to risk his livelihood and his prospects for the mere sake of showing that he syampathised with me in my troubles. If the superior police officers had selected these Mohammadan constables to be my escort on the ground of their difference in faith from me and consequently not likely to sympathise with me, they were quite mistaken in their estimate of them. Of course, they had no criminal intention, as I myself had none, but, all the same, they did not conceal their sentiments towards me, and rendered me every possible service. It was with a real pang that I parted from them at Mandalay. At this latter station the whole platform was cleared before I was asked to get down and to walk over to the carriage awaiting outside. I could however, see several Panjabee faces peeping at me from office windows and door panes, I had hardly left the station premises when to my surprise I found my friend Mr. G. K. Devdhar, M. A., of Mr. Gokhale's Servant of India Society, Poona, at my feet. The affectionate touch of a friend's hand moved me so

deeply that it was with great effort that I controlled myself. For a moment I quailed under the influence of the touch and feared lest that which the actual arrest and deportation had failed to do might be effected by this sudden display of love and regard on the part of a friend whom I never expected to meet there. As soon, however, as Mr. Devdhar touched my feet the police construed it into an attempt at rescue and the Inspector took hold of my arm and a European Sergeant getting hold of Mr. Devdhar's tore him off my feet. I could only give a silent but affectionate nod in response to my friend's attempt to embrace and honour me. The next moment I saw him driving past me greeting with folded hands. This time my hands being free I responded. I was, however, sorry for Mr. Devdhar because I was sure that henceforward his movements would be closely watched and his footsteps dogged. I have reasons to believe that my apprehensions were not groundless.

I proceed now to a narration of what happened after my arrival at Mandalay.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST TWO DAYS AT MANDALAY.

As has been stated in the last Chapter I reached Mandalay railway station on the 16th of May 1907. Thence I was driven to the Fort in a hackney carriage, in company with the Assistant Commissioner of Rangoon Police, who had come with me from Rangoon, and the European Inspector of Lahore Police. The route taken was a circuitous one evidently adopted in order to avoid all habited portions of the city. My first impression of the Fort was a very poor one. My imagination had drawn the picture of a strong citadel situated on an eminence and surrounded by lofty walls, such as one so often finds described in English novels. This Fort I found to be rather a plain building situated on a level with the other parts of the city; though surrounded by a high wall and a broad deep moat full of water. We entered by the south gate and driving past the Royal Palaces and Royal Tombs stopped in the portico of a nice brick Bunglow built in European style with tiled roofs. Here a European

officer dressed in a shirt and trousers received us. He was the Superintendent of Mandalay Jail and was expecting us. The day was wet, a shower having begun in the way. The Inspector of Lahore Police handed over the warrant of commitment, my money (350 rupees in currency notes), my gold watch and chain to the Superintendent and took a receipt for myself and the said articles from him. The Superintendent wrote down the receipt at the dictation of the Inspector. The room where all this was done was the office room of the Superintendent and contained his bed also. It was rather poorly furnished. In order to insure identification I was made to put my signature on the back of the warrant, alongside the one I had put at Diamond Harbour. The Inspector took a receipt from me for the articles he had supplied me in the way, *i.e.*, a cushion, a rug, a sheet, a shirt, a *pajama*, a banyan, a tumbler, a towel and a few Magazines.

The Superintendent then offered a peg of whiskey to the officers present which was thankfully accepted by them. After they had drunk the health of their host and left the place, the Superintendent took me to the

upper story where I was told that two rooms had been set apart for me as a temporary measure. I found the rooms, nice, well ventilated, well-lighted and commodious. The furniture consisted of a table, two chairs, a Newar bed, two pairs of jail blankets, about the same number of white sheets, three pieces of bright coloured Burmese carpets each not more than six inches in width, though larger than the length of the room. To this was added, of course, the articles that had been supplied to me in the way. My first impression of the Superintendent was very favourable. From his simple ways of living and rather unconventional habits I took him to be a kind-hearted frank Englishman. On his asking me what kind of food I would take, I told him that I should like to have Indian food cooked by a Panjabee Hindu, but pending arrangements for that I had no objection to take English food. He then ordered his servant, a Madrassi boy, to cook my meals, for the time being. He spoke to me kindly and said that every care would be taken to make me comfortable. I told him that my first necessity was to have a few summer shirts and at least one summer suit of clothes as I was wearing a warm waistcoat. He said he would see

to it the next day. I complained to him of constipation and trouble in the liver. He examined my eyes and tongue and said that I did look bilious and anæmic and that he would prescribe medicine for me. After this he left me for the day and I retired for rest. Special provision had been made to guard me at the house. A Police guard consisting of 8 Burmese constables and one English-knowing Burmese Sub-Inspector under the command of a European Sergeant had been deputed to keep guard. Double guard, one at each staircase, was posted at night. The Sub-Inspector and the European Sergeant came up several times during the course of the night to see that I had not escaped. Some patrolling officers also came on rounds. A personal undertaking upon my word of honour, not to attempt to escape was asked for by the Superintendent in the evening and was most unhesitatingly given. It so happened, however, that having taken a purgative pill at bed time I had to go to the bath-room rather very early in the morning. In my absence from my bed room the European Sergeant came up and not finding me in bed began to search for me. To allay his anxiety I spoke to him from the bath-room

saying that I was there. The next morning I was still in bed by reason of my being indisposed when the Superintendent came in and informed me that the Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner had come to see me. I told him that I was not properly dressed, having no clothes to change. He remarked that it did not matter. He then retired, and the Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner came in. The former wished me good morning, enquired how I was and if I had any complaint to make. They did not take their seats and were not there for more than five minutes.

The Superintendent asked me for a list of necessary articles I wanted and I supplied him with one. Out of these he ordered the following at once :

White Twill Shirts 6
Towels 2
White Shirts 2
Pillow Covers 6
Handkerchiefs 6
Pairs of Socks 2
Comb and Brush 1
Note-paper, Pen, Ink and Blotting Paper.
Napkins 6
Banyans (under wear) 2

He lent me a book to read. It was M

Justin Mc'Arthy's Reminisences. He suggested to me a study of the Burmese language and gave me his own Anglo-Burmese Handbook. He also employed a Madrassi boy for me and said that I could walk in the compound within sight of the constable. I availed of it, however, sparingly as the only coat I had was a warm one, and it was too hot to walk with this coat on. In the meantime, another house was arranged for me. It was close to that of the Superintendent in the vicinity of the Palace Gardens, towards the north of the latter. I lodged with the Superintendent for two days and on the third was removed to the new Bungalow. In the interval I noticed some Panjabees watching me from the roads. Some of them saluted me which I acknowledged and nodded to them to move on.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HOUSE.

The house in which I was confined is a P. W. D. Bungalow, built by the British, outside the Palace Canal, on the north side of the Royal Gardens. Between it and the Royal Gardens is a metalled Road open to the public. Towards the south of this road, almost opposite the Bungalow set apart for my residence, was a small wooden house for a British Guard, on duty, at the Magazine situated close to it on the North-Western angle of the Palace compound.

This Bungalow is a modern structure built of wood and bricks. It is a double storeyed house, each being divided into two by a partition wall, so as to act comodate two families. On the North side are servants' quarters and between these and the main buildings are two kitchens. The compound had a wooden fence around it and on the front side are two gates. The Western side of the Upper storey was allotted for my use. It consisted of

two rooms opening into two varandahs, and a bath-room connected with a wooden stair-case in the compound. The other stair case is inside the wèstern half of the first floor. Just at the foot of the stair case and in the corridor was placed a table and a bed for the European Sergeant on guard, so that no one could use the staircase without his knowledge. The rooms allotted to me were very poorly furnished. No matting was provided. The wooden floor was quite bare, except for the three peices of Burman carpet, each six inches in breath already spoken of. The doors and the windows had no chicks or curtains The rest of the furniture consisted of a dining table, a reading table, an easy chair made of cane, two office chairs two *tepoys*, an almirah for clothes and a meat-safe. The bed was, however, provided with a mosquito curtain. The walls were quite bare. The *tepoys* and the almirah were supplied at my request. Once I expressed a desire to have a raised bed so as to get more air, as the verandah where I slept had a wall about four feet high, which prevented the free passage of air to the place where the bed was placed. The request was considered unreasonable and disallowed. Two candle sticks

were provided for light and latterly at my request a reading lamp was supplied.

Servants, Attendance, &c.,

I have already stated that a Madrasi "boy" was engaged to serve me as a cook as well as a general servant, on Rs. 25 per mensem. Besides these, a sweeper and a *Bhishti* were also engaged who came twice a day to perform their respective duties. A *dhobi* was appointed to wash the clothes. A barber was told off to shave me every other day. All except the last mentioned were paid by the Government. He was paid by me for the first 2½ months and after that by the Government. After the expiration of the first month the barber came to me and asked for his pay. I told him that he would be paid by the Superintendent of the Jail who had appointed him. He said the Superintendent wanted me to pay for his services. I asked him to wait until I had ascertained the wishes of the Sahib. On the 9th of July the Sahib asked me why I had not paid the barber. I said I was under the impression that the Government would pay him, as under the Regulation (III of 1818) they were bound to maintain me according to my status in life. This was too much for the good man and he retorted by saying

that he knew of no such law, and that so far as I was concerned his word was law. He also added that shaving was a luxury which the Government would not pay for, as it was not necessary that I should shave. To impress me with his knowledge of the customs of this country he added that he could understand a Mohammadan insisting upon his head being shaved now and then, but why was it necessary for me—a Hindu, to shave my chin? 'Why could I not grow my beard?' asked he. 'Did I not keep a beard at home? Had I ever employed a barber to shave me there?' Such were the questions which he hurled at me one after another without waiting for a reply. I had taken no offence at his saying that his word was law, but I surely felt insulted at his questioning my veracity in having stated that at home also I employed a barber to shave me every other day and that I had not taken to shaving as a privilege of my imprisonment, with a view to enjoy this luxury at the cost of the Government. But my answers provoked him all the more, and he said he would order the barber to cease coming if I objected to pay him. I said that I would gladly pay him out of my money and had not done

so only to make myself sure of his wishes and pending an enquiry from him. I added that there was no occasion for him to be angry. He, however, thought that the mere fact of my having delayed the payment and having referred to the law on the subject was good enough cause to turn him into a bully and insult a helpless prisoner. He concluded by saying that I could appeal to the Government of India against his orders, but pending the decision of such an appeal, if preferred at all, his order must be obeyed and immediately. I replied that I had no intention of troubling the Government of India on a trifling matter like this and that he could pay the barber out of my money he had in his custody. He, however, would not listen to it and wanted me to pay him with my own hand, which I subsequently did. The subject was never mentioned again till on the 12th of August, when the Superintendent asked me for a memo of the sums I had spent out of my money, as he wanted to return me some of them *e.g.*, the pay of the barber. This memo, was supplied to him in due course but not a *sou* was repaid. He told me later on that he had mislaid it. The pay of the barber for August was, however, paid

by the Superintendent himself as he had told me that he would pay him in future.

On the 20th of June, I wrote to the Superintendent of Jail that having been unwell the whole of the previous night without any one to look after me, I would like to have another servant who should sleep in the house and should when necessary pull the punkha. Both of my rooms had punkhas hanging from the roof. Knowing that the Superintendent was anxious to spend as little upon me as possible, I added that this additional servant might be paid for out of my money. In relpy to this letter I was told in the evening that my request was a most extraordinary one; that no one in Mandalay was known to have a punkha coolie; that servants were scarce in Burma and that my request could not be granted. He was, however, pleased to order that the Madrassi boy engaged for me would in future cook my food in the compound and also sleep there. The boy, however, said that he could not do so, as he had not been supplied with a sufficient number of cooking utensils. A few days later he began cooking in the compound but was always complaining of bad utensils and wet firewood, and consequently shortly after reverted to the old

practice of cooking in the Superintendent's kitchen. My impression was that it was more convenient for him to serve in the Superintendent's kitchen, as his knowledge of cookery was very indifferent, indeed, and in the Superintendent's kitchen he got some help from the Superintendent's man who in return took away the remnants of food cooked for me, the boy paying six rupees a month to the Superintendent's man for his food. This joint cooking was, I think, more appeciated by the Superintendent's butler. My servant, or rather the servant engaged for me, being a creature of the Superintendent's butler, was completely under the latter's thumb and could not afford to displease or disobey him. The need of a punkha coolie was often felt in the first part of the night, particulary towards the end of September and in part of October, but I never repeated the request. Sometimes I passed whole nights with a fan in hand.

Food, &c.

The food was, as I have already said, cooked in the English fashion. However much I desired to have Panjabi food cooked by a Panjabi servant, my wishes could not be complied with on the plea that it wss difficult to get a Panjabi cook in Burma. I believe that the

local authorities were, for some time at least, opposed to a Panjabi cook being engaged for me. In my memorial to the Viceroy, dated the 29th of June, I asked for permission to have a servant of my own from the Panjab, and in reply was told on the 6th of August that my request could not be granted. On the 9th of August when the Deputy Commissioner saw me and asked if I was satisfied with my food arrangemets I informed him that I had nothing to complain of so far as these arrangements went. But that I would prefer to have my food cooked by a Panjabi, as none but a Panjabi could cook the food which I was accustomed to at home. The Deputy Commissioner, who is the son of a retired Panjab Civilian and must have lived in the Panjab for a number of years, was rather surprised to hear that a Madrassi could not prepare Panjabi food. I then explained to him the difference between Madrassi food and Panjabi food. On the 23rd of August I received a second visit from the Superintendent of Jail late in the evening, that is, between 8 and 9 P.M. to enquire about my food. I repeated what I had told the Deputy Commissioner and added that I would not like to have a change of

food unless I was assured of my getting the food that I was accustomed to at home. The Superintendent then and there wrote a letter to the Commissioner giving a substance of the conversation he had with me. The result was that on the 4th of October an old Sikh was brought over from Rangoon to cook my food. From his very appearance I judged that he was no cook. However it was a pleasure to see a Panjabi and to have an opportunity to have some conversation with him in one's mother tongue, even though I could not but look upon him with suspicion as I apprehended that he had possibly been selected for some secret service. So I decided to give him a trial. The old man cooked my food twice, and I concluded that this was by no means a change for the better. On enquiry I found that the man belonged to the Patiala State, had been a cultivator all his life, had come to Burma a year before to see a brother in the army and stayed in the country to make some money by service. He, too, found out that I was not satisfied with his cooking. He said he had been tempted to accept this service more with the desire of seeing me (*darshan karne ko ágayá hún*) than with the object of getting a good job and was

quite willing to return to Rangcon the very next morning. Consequently I wrote a letter to the Superintendent of Jail explaining the situation, and early next morning when that officer came on his usual round the old Sikh wanted his permission to return as he was not qualified to cook my food. Thus the old arrangement was again restored which continued to the end of my confinement.

About the food I got I must say that it was neither bad in quality nor insufficient in quantity. I had milk and tea twice a day and fairly good food for breakfast and dinner. Of course, no delicacies were allowed. Luxury, the Superintendent maintained, could not be allowed at Government expense. At first he was inclined to count ice, fruits and aerated waters as luxuries. After a fortnight, however, he relaxed a little in favour of the two latter and stuck to his decision, throughout, as to ice. Except for a few weeks towards the end when he allowed me two bottles per day of *Vilaiti pani* (i.e. soda or lemonade or gingerade, &c.,) for the rest of my confinement he allowed me one bottle only, either of soda or lemonade per day. The supply of fruits was like every other article of food determined by the Suprintendent's own cook. The real trouble

about the food was that it was managed and ordered by this menial. The Superintendent placed implicit trust in him. The State prisoners were thus at the mercy of this man. He ordered their food, he controlled their servants, he kept the accounts, and he made purchases for them. The very first week of my confinement I found that he could not be honest. The purchases that he made for me out of my own money told their own tale. A few days later, I learnt that he was selling food to one of the European Sergeants on duty. He charged him one rupee a day and supplied him with early tea and toast, breakfast, afternoon tea and dinner. This however could not be kept up for long, as the European Sergeants fell out with him. One of them one day showed him the door and ordered him not to enter the premises as he had no business to come there. This is, however, only by the way.

I was relating how he lorded over the State prisoners. Any wish for a change of fruits or a change of vegetables was rejected on the ground that the same were costly and could not be allowed except by the special permission of the Superinendent of Jail. Similarly, he would delay the supply of soda, &c. So far as I was concerned I was not much put out by

these summary decisions of the butler as I got them at my own cost whenever, and as much as I wanted, but all the same the humiliation involved in one's wishes being ruled out by a menial was keenly felt. Besides, now and then the *Madrasi* servant also took his cue from him, and adopted an insolent tone. What was extremely annoying, however, was that the Superintendent, whenever asked, generally referred me to the servants. Sometimes he said "All right ask your servant to get it for you." On other occasions he said "speak to your servant." The servant, however, when spoken to, replied that the butler would not allow it. This went on till the matters reached their climax. On the 22nd of September, as usual, the servant brought my dinner from the Superintendent's quarters where he used to cook it. Looking at it I found that there was no vegetable. I ate a little pudding and the rest of the food I returned saying that I could not take it as there were no vegetables in it. The servant went back to the Superintendent's house and placed the matter before the butler, who in anticipation of a complaint from me told the Superintendent that I had refused to take my food as I wanted a particular kind of vegetable which could

not be had in the bazar. The Superintendent at once lost his temper, and sitting as he was in his shirt with his sleeves open, he walked to my place in the same dress. I was at that time sitting in the compound and by me the European Sergeant on duty was lying on his bed, when lo! the Lord of the Jail appeared and asked me what I did mean by returning and refusing the food prepared for me. I explained that I had taken what was agreeable to me and returned what was not; that I could not be forced to take any particular kind of food, that I wanted more and a variety of vegetables. He said he could not grow vegetables for me, that Mandalay was a bad place for vegetables and vegetables were very dear there, and he could not afford to order a cabbage for me if the latter cost 8 annas or 12 annas a piece. I said in reply that I did not want him to spend on my food more than what he was already doing, but that I wanted a particular kind of food within the same cost or even at my cost. I added that the servant told a lie if he said that I had taken no food at all that evening, as I had eaten the pudding. As for the vegetables not being had in the bazar, I said that that was again a lie as the Sergeant had

just informed me that he had himself purchased several kinds of vegetables. Upon this the Superintendent turned towards the Sergeant and told him that he had no business to talk with the State prisoner on matters like these and to find fault with his "Bandobast." The Sergeant mumbled some sort of excuse, and said that I had seen his dinner which contained the vegetables wanted by me. At this stage, however, the Superintendent assumed an explanatory tone and said that the allowance fixed by Government was quite enough to give me any food I wanted, that in fact the monthly bill of my food exceeded that of his own; and that probably the servant or servants did a good deal of stealing. I remarked that there was absolutely no reason why the bill for my food should exceed his, as I ate very little and I spent my own money on fruits, biscuits and jams, &c. He said he had no time to look after these things, and if he could not manage his own household how could he manage that of others, and that he simply passed all the bills that were presented to him. He said he would be glad to receive complaints from me direct, but no complaint should be made to servants and he would see that my complaints were looked into. I

replied that I was not given to making complaints and that I would rather spend my own money and get things wanted than make complaints, if only servants would take the trouble of bringing me what I wanted. Upon this he informed me that they were on the look out for a Panjabi cook and would probably employ one at an early date, which would remove all my complaints about food. Thus ended this undesirable episode.

For some days after this I got the vegetables that I wanted, but later on, the same old story was repeated. The truth is that the Superintendent's man was not interested in getting what was wanted by me. Evidently some people were fed on what was not consumed by me. Considering that it was not pleasant to make constant complaints I resolved to make a last attempt to put matters right, and on the 12th of October wrote a letter to the Superintendent pointing out the desirability of letting me give orders for my food within a certain sum to be fixed by him. I even offered to keep accounts for him so that the servant might not charge for articles not required by me. I also said that the *ghee* (clarified butter) that was purchased for my diet

every day was bad, nor was the rice good. This, of course, necessitated the cooking being done in the compound, of the house occupied by me. The Superintendent replied verbally, as it was only very rarely that he condescended to give written replies to my letters, that he had ordered the servant to cook my food in the compound, but that as to the other matter he would consider it and let me know his decision later on. He said he might give a trial to it. The matter, however, dropped there and nothing was done. The Superintendent's man continued to exercise his authority as before and the only remedy left for me was to get what I wanted at my own cost without caring what the Government supplied. I do not believe that the Superintendent of Jail had any desire to annoy me or not to give me good food. On the other hand, in kinder moments and particularly whenever I felt indisposed, he told me plainly that I could order anything that I wanted or that suited my taste, but his verbal orders communicated by me to my servant, and by the latter to the Superintendent's servant were always fruitless, as the butler would not care to obey instructions sent in such a manner. The Superintendent unfortunately never saw

that to put a respectable Indian, who was believed to have a good social position in his country in a state of dependence and subordination to a menial, was the greatest insult that could be offered to him, and was by itself, irrespective of all other inconveniences resulting therefrom, likely to be keenly felt.

Health.

I have already stated that the day I was arrested at Lahore I was feeling some trouble in my liver. My health in no way improved by the journey, and the day I reached Mandalay I was feeling worse. The Superintendent gave me a purgative and I was in bed the next day when the Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner came to see me. The two days I was lodging with the Superintendent of Jail in his own house, he allowed me to walk in his compound in sight of the sentry. This concession was continued when I was removed to the other house. I cannot say how many days afterwards an order was issued permitting me to take walks within the Fort escorted by the European Sergeant in command of the guard on duty. I could not go out for a few days as I had no summer coat to put on, and it was

too hot to go out with the winter coat on, the only one that I had. I think a week expired before the required summer clothings were ready. My diary begins from the 8th of June and therefore I cannot be positive about these facts. However it was not very long before I was permitted to go out for walking twice a day. At first no limits were imposed on my walk except that I could not go out of the Fort and that the European Sergeant was instructed not to take me in the direction of houses occupied by native regiments. Restrictions were, however, imposed from time to time later on. I have mentioned them under the head "*Surveillance and Restraint.*" As to my health I propose to give a few extracts from my diary. The first entry is dated the 20th June.

"This morning when I got up I felt very bad. Even an hour's walk made no difference, it continued to be so the whole day. Took only light breakfast and no dinner."

21st.—Had five or six motions this morning; took very little food.

22nd.—"Health not restored yet; stomach seems to be heavy."

23rd.—"Ditto: Had three or four motions. There is a good deal of humidity in the air. Sharp winds blow. At times it gets very cold. It is generally cloudy."

24th.—There is no entry about health except a note of a conversation with the Superintendent recording his remark that he could not say that my confinement was likely to tell on my health and that two hours' daily walk should be quite sufficient to keep me in health. He said that even men in clerical service could not do more.

The entries of the 27th, the 28th, and the 29th record a growing tendency towards sleeplessness and consequent headache.

On the 30th is noted a visit of the Deputy Commissioner who when going, left a message with the European Sergeant to the effect that I should be allowed to take longer walks so as to be cured of Dyspepsia.

1st July.—"Had good sleep, though was feeling rather weak and consequently could not do much in the way of reading and writing."

2nd July.—"Feeling well. Had good sleep."

4th July.—"Passed a bad night. Sleep not satisfactory."

5th July.—"Was not feeling bad when got up in the morning but soon after began to feel unwell. Had four motions in the day."

6th July.—"Was feeling well when got up in the morning but on return from the morning walk, felt pain in the stomach."

8th and 9th July.—"Feel constipated."

12th July.—"After several days I feel well to-day."

14th and 15th.—"Health good and feel some satisfaction on the improvement."

17th.—Again disorder and pain in the stomach.

18th.—Records a slight improvement. It adds that the Superintendent of Jail was written to, to supply fresh butter instead of the tinned one, and more vegetables and fruits. In the evening, however, matters assumed a threatening aspect. The notes say "*Tabiat bahut kharáb*" (Health very bad). Urine high coloured (*Pesháb ká rung surakh hai*).

No meals. Am afraid, an attack of severe

illness is impending. Am taking all necessary precautions to avoid it."

19th.—"A little better, though head giddy and stomach still heavy. Passed a sleepless and uneasy night."

20th.—"In the afternoon began to feel unwell. In the evening became very bad. Extreme uneasiness and restlessness. Took no dinner. No sleep at night. Loneliness adds to the misery."

21st.—"Better."

22nd.—"Got an attack of severe fever this afternoon, resulting in extreme restlessness. No sleep."

23rd.—"No fever. Milk diet."

24th.— "Ditto."

25th.—"No appetite, and no sleep. The Doctor prescribed intoxicants which did no good. *Tabiat sakht kamzor aur kharáb.*" (Health very weak and bad).

26th.— "Ditto."

27th.—"In reply to an enquiry about health from Mr. Madanjit I wrote to the effect that I was suffering from a derangement of the liver and a disordered stomach and consequent sleeplessness. The Superintendent

was very angry at this and refused to pass that letter. He said I was feigning illness and exaggerating matters so as to create an impression abroad that the confinement was injuring my health. I retorted that he was quite wrong and that he had never examined my liver and spleen and that even at home I suffered very much, from affections of stomach, &c. He then examined my liver and spleen and said there was nothing wrong about the former though he could not exactly say the same about the latter, but he did not think there was any cause of anxiety on account thereof.

28th.—"No appetite. No sleep. Tried a stimulant with the help of which could sleep for two hours only."

29th.—"A doze of caster oil. Had three motions. Feel better."

After this there are no entries about health up to the 6th of August when a fresh attack of Insomnia, *i.e.*, sleeplessness, overtook me.

On the 7th again I suffered from Diarrhœa and sleeplessness.

On the 9th the Superintendent pres-

cribed a doze of sulphonel to enable me to sleep.

On the 10th another doze of sulphonel helped me to sleep but on the 11th and 12th again I passed sleepless nights. The entries about sleeplessness continued up to the 16th.

Then there is a lull up to the 30th when a fresh attack of the same ensued.

After this there are no entries of any sort in connection with health up to the 17th of September, on which date again I find a complaint of sleeplessness noted. On the 23rd again I passed the whole night in a condition of sleeplessness which continued for several nights. To this was added another trouble, that of neuralgic pain in the forehead; both these, *i. e.*, sleeplessness and neuralgic pain in forehead, continued off and on for the remaining period of my confinement.

Before concluding, however, I may note that all these troubles from which I suffered at Mandalay are more or less chronic; particularly the disorders of stomach and sleeplessness. The latter makes no difference in personal appearance. I have often observed that while

I have been getting indifferent sleep for nights my appearance has not suffered at all.

A state of confinement, and loneliness, insufficiency of exercise, a sense of annoyance produced by humiliation and unwarrantable subjection, want of agreeable company and similar other discomforts were bound to produce their effect, and make chronic troubles assume an acute shape. Consequently I suffered a great deal from these complaints in the first three months of my confinement, but latterly having been reconciled to my fate and surroundings I improved considerably.

There was another cause for sleeplessness. At home I had generally been in the habit of sleeping in the open in the summer season. Here I was forced to sleep under a roof without a punkha. I have stated in another place that I had sometimes to pass whole nights with fan in my hand, now getting a wink, then suddenly awaking to find the fan dropped, again getting hold of it and soon.

The Government officials who visited me were apparently very solicitous about my health, though they could do nothing to give me greater facilities for improving it. The Superintendent of Jail and the Deputy Commis-

sioner always insisted on my taking long walks twice a day though they could not appreciate the difficulties that stood in the way of my complying with their wish.

(1.) The Sergeants were generally unwilling to go twice a day, and positively disliked walks. They had very good grounds for this, as they were required to go in uniform with loaded revolvers, a sword and 24 rounds of ammunition. They were required to walk in a summer sun up to the Bungalow at the head of their guard fully armed and accoutred, from the Police depot No. 6 which was said to be a distance of not less than two miles.

(2). Most of them did not like to get up sufficiently early for the morning walk as the first and the middle part of the night they kept up waking for officers and others coming on visiting rounds or on patrols.

(3). After the arrival of S. Ajit Singh at Mandalay walking was limited to two roads only, covering a length of about a mile and a quarter. One of these, the longer of the two had no shade to protect the pedestrian from the glare of the rising sun. When this was pointed out to the Deputy Commissioner in re-

ply to a question from him about long walks, all what he could do was to suggest that I should ask the Superintendent of Jail to supply me a pair of coloured glasses. The suggestion of the Deputy Commissioner was duly communicated to the Superintendent who disapproved of the idea of coloured glasses, but promised to speak to the Superintendent of Police to allow me to walk in the Royal Gardens in front of my Bungalow. This leads me to another difficulty *viz.*, that of the double authority to which I was subjected.

(4). Although as a prisoner I was in the charge of the Superintendent of Jail, but as the guard to keep watch over me was supplied by the District Superintendent of Police, he thought he was responsible for my safe custody in the bungalow and during walks. He therefore objected to my walking on any roads not sanctioned by him. Thus it happened more than once that the order given by the Superintendent of Jail about extended walks, or assigning larger area for my walks were disregarded by the Police officers on duty. The Police, moreover, insisted upon my returning from my evening walks before dusk. The sun at Mandalay is so scorching that one does not feel inclined to go out for a walk so

long as the sun is not sufficiently down to make it agreeable. Hence it was impossible to take long walks either in the evening or in the morning.

(5). The Superintendent of Jail advised me to take to fishing as a pastime, as there were plenty of fish in the Palace Canals in front of my house. I had never indulged in fishing all my life and I had no intention to take to that at Mandalay. As the permission was likely to give me a greater chance of remaining out I accepted it with thanks and asked the Sergeant on duty to procure a fishing rod at my cost, suggesting that he or the constables on duty will use it and I will sit by them on the canal. A fishing-rod was consequently purchased; the constables tried it several times ; but to me it gave neither pleasure nor relief. No European Sergeant was found willing to stay out for hours under the load of his arms and accoutrements and he was not allowed to move without them. The Superintendent, however, questioned me very frequently about my achievements in angling and was generally disappointed on learning that we had caught no fish. The Deputy Commissioner too once put me a similar question in reply to which I had to tell him that successful outing required

a lot of time and patience and my guard could not stay out sufficiently long to get any results. The rod was, however, freely used by the constables, when off duty, and was eventually quietly stolen away by one of them.

CHAPTER V.

WATCH AND RESTRAINT.

All the time I was confined at Mandalay, in fact from the moment of my arrest up to the moment of my release at Mian Mir West (Lahore Cantonment) Railway Station I was closely watched. No one except the officials on duty, or the servants engaged to attend on me, were allowed to approach me, or to see me, or to talk with me. During this time I was not allowed to see any of my relatives, or friends. In the month of August I was informed that the Government of India had no strong objections to any of my relatives seeing me, provided the intending visitor obtained the previous permission of the Government of Punjab to that effect. Towards the end of August or in September my youngest brother, Lala Dhanpat Rai, B.A., LL. B., Pleader, Ferozepore applied for permission to see me, but the Government of Sir Denzil Ibbetson refused to grant it. That stopped further applications of a similar character.

I have said that I was closely guarded. In the day time, a sentry was always on duty on

the side facing the road, while the staircase leading down to the compound on the back side was always carefully bolted from without. At night the front sentry kept watch on the inner staircase from where he could see me in bed, and there was another sentry placed on duty towards the back.

The European Sergeant, and the Burman Sub-Inspector, were expected to see me several times in day as well as at night. None except the servants engaged for me or the Police on duty were allowed to enter the compound. The servants were supposed to be searched every time they went in or went out.

Corre-spondence.

All my correspondence was censored; only some of the letters addressed to me being actually delivered. Most of the letters containing any reference or allusion to my arrest, deportation, or confinement, were not given to me; nor any other that contained any mention of any of the events that were happening at Lahore or in other parts of the country. Complaints of any kind mentioned in letters written by me to my friends were censored and disallowed though letters containing a good word for the Superintendent were readily passed.

No newspapers of any kind were allowed.

Newspapers. Even the European Sergeants on duty were forbidden to have any newspaper with them while on guard. Books of all kinds were carefully looked into before they were admitted as well as when the same were returned.

During walks I was at first escorted by a European Sergeant only, though he was expected to go fully armed; but I had been there only a few days when the escort was increased by the addition of two police constables in uniform. On roads no one was allowed to approach me or to talk with me, though no one ever attempted to do so. Some policemen in white clothes were always prowling about the house and on the roads to see if any communications were smuggled. For some days Indians passing on the roads in front of the house were subjected to a lot of annoyance. Some Police Officers in the excess of their zeal closed that road for Indians and would not allow them to use it. Even respectable men in carriages were made to go back and take to other roads. The Police in Burma is composed of a very large number of Indians mostly Panjabees, both in the

constabulary as well as among the officers. They were studiously excluded from duty in connection with the State prisoners. When I reached Mandalay the European Sergeants on guard over me had each an orderly constable given to them for their personal service. These orderlies happened to be Punjabee Mohammedans. They were soon after removed from that duty and replaced by Burman constables who brought food for the European Sergeants. The roads fixed for walking exercise passed through a gate which was guarded at night from 6 P. M. to 6 A. M. by a detachment of Punjabee sepoys. They were also substituted by a guard from the Burman Sappers and Miners.

For some time to come a *slamming* scare was kept up and Indians saluting me, by raising their hands to the forehead, were marked, threatened and shadowed. One evening two Indians were actually arrested and brought to the guard on the charge of prowling about the roads. One of them was at once let off with a warning. The other who was a Sikh was detained for some time until the District Superintendent of Police was sent for, who cross-examined him very closely as to his parentage, residence, oc-

cupation and whereabouts. This man was a retired Overseer and now a contractor in the Public Works Department in Burma. He was asked if he knew me and why he had saluted me. He replied that he knew me by reputation that I was a "saint and great man" and that "he considered it his duty to bow to me wherever he saw me." He was asked if he would bind himself not to do so in future to which he replied in the negative. He was then asked why he had come to Mandalay. He said he had come on business and was staying in the Punjabi Dharamsala in the Bazar. He was warned not to come that side again and then set free. All this pained me very much and the next day I declined to go out for a walk. I wrote a letter to one of my friends at Lahore giving an account of the incident and adding that I had discontinued going out for walks, because I would rather take no exercise and stay in, than see my countrymen thus insulted and harrassed for the offence of saluting me. I asked my friends to devise some means of informing the Indians at Mandalay to take no notice of me and not to bow to me whenever they were to

see me on the roads, as it did no good to either party: that it resulted in their being insulted, while it added to my difficulties. This letter was not passed and returned to me with the remark that this communication could not be allowed. The District Superintendent of Police then came and asked me the reason of not going out for walks. I informed him of the real reason, upon which he remarked that the man had been seen lurking about, twice or thrice and hence it was necessary to take notice of him and that an incident like that was not likely to be repeated. The Superintendent of Jail too gave me a sort of assurance that people saluting me will not be meddled with. But I know that as a matter of fact this salam-scare was kept up for a long time. Long after that the Superintendent of Jail once asked me if people on roads still "salammed" me and I said that some of them did. Later on, I was informed by more than one European Sergeant that native soldiers had been told not to salute me nor to frequent the road in front of the house. Some of them, however, never cared a jot for these orders and continued to come and look at me and even occasionally salammed me. On several occasions I signed to them

not to do so but they did not care. Some even went to the length of giving me a military salute wherever they met me in groups. I adopted several devices to avoid them; for example, as soon as I saw that a number of Panjabees were coming towards me I took a turn and went away in the opposite direction, or if I was walking in the verandah or in the compound of the house and saw some Indians coming, I sometimes went in or to the back side of the house to avoid their seeing me. Some persons, however, came again and again and would not go away without having a look at me. Another respectably dressed Sikh was arrested one day as he was standing on the road with a view to have a look at me. When he saw me in the verandah he bowed to me, upon which he was caught hold of and sent in the custody of a constable to the District Superintendent of Police. He appeared to be a man of some spirit. Some hot words passed between him and the Burman Sub-Inspector upon the latter using some abusive epithets, to which the Khalsa gave a spirited reply. In this conversation also I heard the Sub-Inspector charging him with having bowed to me. He said: "Why should you people bow to him when the Government does not

want you to do so?" The man replied: "The Government could not by any law prevent us from doing so." Once again a peon of a Government establishment, located close by, was arrested for the offence of raising his hand to the forehead as a mark of respect towards me. He was, however, soon let off and I have reason to believe that the incident was neither entered in the diary nor otherwise reported. All I could do as a protest against this high-handed action was to cut short my walk and return immediately to my place, never again to go for a walk with that European Sergeant. It was shocking to see the Government demoralised to such a pitch in order to maintain their dignity and prestige. One day a Mussalman boy of 10 years insisted upon salamming me, while his father was shouting out to him from a distance not to do so, as he might be arrested for it. However, a goodly number of Panjabees employed in different occupations in the fort or having occasions to pass through it in the discharge of their duty kept up saluting me. It was a touching sight to see some of them bowing to me or otherwise expressing their respect rather stealthily, so as to avoid being observed by the escort. On the roads fixed for my walk

were situated the Bungalows of some European officials who had some Madrasi Indians in their employ. These Madrasis had a number of babies (boys and girls all under 10 years of age, some of them being only 3 or 4 years old) who all used to watch me in my exercise. Just as the time of my walk drew near, they would come out, stand on the road and sal te me. It was only natural for me to respond to their love, and sometimes I used to pat them and give them pices. The sensible amongst my guards never took any notice of it, but one of them one day began to question me about their relations with me. On my saying that they were not even known to me except by these walks, he felt greatly surprised at the marks of love and respect shown by them. My only reply was a contemptuous smile.

One morning it was about 4 A. M. and I was sitting up in bed in meditation when I heard a Punjabi Sikh reciting the *Jupji Sahib* (the Sikh prayer) in a loud voice. The Sergeant on duty at once ordered him to be quiet, evidently suspecting that he might be communicating with me in his own language, which was Greek to the Sergeant. Immediately after-

wards he came up to see if I was awake, and, on finding me sitting, must have been confirmed in his suspicions.

On both sides of the house occupied by me, were large open grassy plots which were used for grazing purposes by the cowherds of the native regiments stationed in the fort. These cowherds were as a rule Panjabi boys—Hindu and Mohammedan rustics—who knew no language except their own. To them no joy was greater than that of singing their native songs and in reciting their homely poems, in that far off land of virtual exile; cut away from their familiar haunts and separated from their playmates, these urchins now and then took to singing. But no sooner were their voices raised than down came the word of command and off went the boys; the herd being ruthlessly driven back by the constables.

I was not allowed to go out of the fort during the entire period of my confinement except for once when I was driven to the General Hospital for the examination of my eyes, with a view to a change of glasses. On the 30th of July the permission to go out for walking was temporarily withdrawn, but it was

again restored after two days. The withdrawal was I think based upon certain reports received from the Punjab that certain persons had started to pay us a visit and to hold communication of some sort or other with us.

Correspondence Disallowed.

The following questions and answers taken from the Parliamentary report of the 9th July, 1907, will show how dust was thrown in the eyes of the public by persistent wrong information being supplied from India and Burma about the treatment of political prisoners :—

Mr. William Redmond asked the Secretary of State for India whether the friends of the persons recently arrested and deported without trial in India were allowed to communicate with them, or their relatives were allowed to see them at any time.

Mr. Morley.—Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh are allowed to correspond with their friends, but their correspondence is examined to prevent messages being sent by them that might give rise to disturbances. So far one letter only has been stopped. My information from India is that no one has expressed a desire to see the prisoners, but there would, I

presume, be no objection to their doing so under such supervision as would ensure that no mischievous and undesirable communications were made.

Mr. Redmond.—May I ask whether the Right Honourable gentleman could see his way to have these prisoners detained in some place where they could be enabled to see their friends, whom they can not see now because of the distance. ?

Mr. Morley.— I am afraid the effect of the deportation, whether we like it or dislike it, would certainly be impaired if the change suggested were made.

Mr. Redmond.—Will the Right Hon. gentleman undertake that these prisoners shall at least get the same facilities that were given to the Irish prisoners in Kilmainham long ago?

Mr. Morley.—There were no prisoners at Kilmainham when I was responsible for the Government of Ireland, and I have forgotten what arrangements were made.

Mr. Redmond.—I shall be delighted to remind the Right Honourable gentleman.

Mr. Mackarness.—Can the prisoners communicate with their legal advisers?

Mr. Morley.—I presume so.

The facts narrated in the other parts of the story show how far Mr. Morley's statements were true. Below I publish a few of the letters addressed to me at Mandalay which were suppessed and not delivered to me. The reader will see for himself that letters were delivered or not, at the sweet will of the Superintendent, and that the latter was not at all guided by the principle stated by Mr. Morley in the House of Commons. For example, the very first letter of these published below was detained for no reason. It contains nothing except a few words about the writer's health and that of another friend. Similarly most of the other letters detained and delivered to me after my release, under orders of the Government, are perfectly innocent. They contain only stray expressions of sympathy with me. I have, however, to add that all the letters suppressed have not even now been made over to me. I was told by the Honourable Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C. I. E., that he wrote to me one or two letters while I was at Mandalay. They were never delivered to me nor are they included in the letters that have been sent to me since my release.

He also forwarded to me two letters from a friend, Mrs. Blair (a daughter of the late Mr. W. C. Bonnerjea, married to an English Barrister in England). I can think of no reason why these letters should have been withheld.

SOME OF THE LETTERS SUPPRESSED.

LAHORE, 17th Oct. 1907.

RESPECTED BABUJI,

Both myself and Mr. Athavale are alright. I hope you are doing well.

Yours respectfully,
(Sd.) JASWANT RAI.

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18 TERRACE ROAD,
Mt. Pleasant, Swansea,
May 16th 1907.

Dear Sir,

I am a young Welshman, 22 years old, very much interested in Indian questions. Will you kindly send me a few lines about the agitation that is going on at present in India? I should like to hear from you very much—whether you have done anything very dreadful.

There is some discussion in the House of Commons every day on the position of affairs in India. People

in Great Britian, however, know very little of the truth about India, and I would like to learn more about it. I hope that you do not find the time weighing heavily upon your hands, and that your confinement is not irksome.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Believe me to be,
Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) HED. J. SANDY.

(Translation of a Hindi letter).

KASHI.

Nothing in the world is difficult of attainment to those in whose heart is the power of beneficence (or philanthropy).

(Sd.) RAM CHANDRA.

(Translation of an Urdu Letter.)

AGRA, 24*th June* 1907.

DEAR SIR,

Namaste! Having heard the sad news of your deportation, I went from Agra to Lahore, where I stopped with Lala Ranpat Rai for three days. Lala Pyarelal and Munshiji also returned from Jagraon at the time and I was able to see them.

I have been at Agra for three months and do not intend to return to Amritsar. Since you are absent from the Panjab, there is no one for whose sake I should go and live there. I pray God that you

may return to the Panjab soon and that the reports circulated by your enemies may turn out false. Please let me know how you are doing.

Yours truly,
(Sd.) NATH MAL.

GURDASPORE,
6th August 1907.

MY DEAR SIR,

Having known that friends are allowed to communicate with you, I take the opportunity to ask you to let me know of your health. Blessed is the place where you are living and in the words of the 5th Guru I can not help addressing you in the following strain :

(Here follow some verses in Gurmukhi.)

I hope that you are all right and will write to me.

Yours truly,
(Sd.) GURDIT SINGH.

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1. HAMMUM STREET, BOMBAY,
9th September, 1907.

To

LALA LAJPAT RAI, Esqr.,
Fort Mandalay,
British Burma.

No. 3021-07.

Dear Sir,

We have been desired to instruct our London Agents to send a notice on your behalf to the "Daily

Express" and if necessary to take action against that paper in connection with the canard contained in its Simla correspondent's letter about you. We send you a copy of that letter and shall thank you to let us know whether you authorise us to act as stated above. With a view to save time, we have already written to our London Agents on the subject but have asked them not to send the notice until we wire them to proceed. Please therefore let us have your reply by return of post. We shall also be glad to receive any special instructions that you may wish to give in the matter. We send you a form of Warrant of Attorney for your signature which please sign and return to us if you wish proceedings to be taken. The blanks in the Warrant (except the date thereof) will be filled up in London.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) DIKSHIT DHANJISHA,
SUNDER DASS.

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1. ADELPHI TERRACE, LONDON, W. C.
September 28th 1907.

DEAR SIR,

We beg to enclose you a circular letter and prospectus of a new Review to be entitled "The International," which is to appear this autumn, and which will deal with all matters connected with the progress of mankind. We should be glad to know if you will feel disposed to contribute an article on the

Political situation in India, adapted to our Review, the tenour of which you will find from the enclosed circular.

We should thank you very much if you would kindly reply as soon as possible, as we should like if possible to have an article of about 2,000 words in time for our January number. We may add that Mr. Chatterjee, the Editor of the *Modern Review*, knows Dr. Broda, our general Editor. Should you think it necessary, perhaps you will communicate with him.

I am,
Dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,
For the "International,"
(Sd.) J. COWELIN.

MR. LAJPAT RAI,
C/o. The "Modern Review,"
Allahabad, India.

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL TREATMENT.

The European Officers who had anything to do with me, in any way, during my confinement at Mandalay were the following:—

(a) The Superintendent of Jail;

(b) The Deputy Commissioner of Mandalay;

(c) The Superintendent and the Deputy Superintendent of Mandalay District Police;

(d) The European Sergeants in command of the Police guard keeping watch over me.

Superintendent of Jail's behaviour.

I. The Superintendent of Jail was an Indian Medical Service Captain, a comparatively young man who was at first solely in charge of the Jail but lately acted as Civil Surgeon as well. My first impression of him, as I have already said above, was very favourable and I thought I was lucky in having been placed under such a man. I took him to be a frank,

straightforward, kind-hearted Englishman, whom I thought I would like the more for his being a bit unconventional in his manners. It did not, however, take me very long to find out that the English gentleman in him had been seriously tampered with by the tainted atmosphere of Anglo-India and that he was a thorough-going Anglo-Indian, although at times I could observe a candid struggle going on between "The candid Englishman" and "The Anglo-Indian Official". I found in him a strange mixture of gentleness and rudeness. Ordinarily fair and without any desire to unnecessarily meddle in other persons' affairs, his Anglo-Indianism unconsciously led him to bullying. For the first few days he was kind and considerate, evidently anxious to make up for the high-handed and barbarous action of his Government in kidnapping me from my native country, without giving me a trial and without framing charges against me. The very next day after my arrival, he lent me one of his own books for learning Burmese language and expressed his willingness to engage a Munshi, at my expense of course, to teach it to me. Later on, with his permission, I purchased another Anglo-Burmese book. For some days he obtained

books for me from the Dufferin Club and otherwise treated me well and kindly. Later on, however, he changed. The permission to learn Burmese was withdrawn, probably under instructions from higher authorities. The only reason given was that on "general political grounds" he did not wish me to learn it. He was particularly rude to me one day on my having written to a friend that I was ill, saying that I wanted my people to agitate for my release, on the ground of my illness, and practically charging me with feigning illness. Another time he was even more insolent when he refused to pay the barber, in a way questioning my veracity as to my being shaved every other day at home. His method of addressing me grew studiedly uncivil. While addressing me by name or writing prescriptions for me or sending letters to me he generally omitted the usual words of courtesy. For the first two or three months he used to come up and occasionally chat with me; but afterwards, in his usual daily visits, he would shout my name from below, sometimes even from the roads, and ask me if I was all right or if I wanted anything When driving in a tandem, he would very often call me on the road or in the compound

and hand over my letters &c., to me. The letters were generally delayed for at least 24 hours in being delivered to me, but latterly they were sometimes delayed even more. There could be some justification for the letters in vernacular being kept back, because he had to get them translated for his perusal, but there was no justification for letters in English being so dealt with, except that the Officer had no time to read them or to enter them in his Register or that he did not care for the feelings of the prisoner. To illustrate what I mean, I will give a few facts. A letter from my father which had the seal of the Mandalay Post Office bearing the date of 19th July was given to me on the 23rd. Letters in English delivered by the Post Office on the 17th were not given to me before 5 P.M. on the 19th. A letter in English received from the Post Office on the 11th of September was given to me on the 14th, *i.e.*, on the 4th day of its receipt; another letter, also in English, was received on 23rd of September and passed on to me on the 28th. Similarly a letter, in English, from my brother received on the 4th October was delivered to me on the 8th October. A letter of the

English Mail delivered on the 31st of October was given on the 4th of November. I have cited only a few instances. The entries in my diary are very many. It must never be forgotten that only some of the letters addressed to me were ever passed; the rest were detained. In the first few days the Superintendent used to tell me that the letters disallowed were of no consequence and in some cases he told me the names of the writers, allowing me to advise them through my son or other friends not to write to me silly letters or letters containing any political allusions or reference to my arrest or deportation, for he said, no such letters could be delivered to me. Later on, however, he observed a studied silence about all letters disallowed. He also refused to pass a letter written by me, in which I had asked a friend to inform all my correspondents that no letter containing anything of the nature mentioned above could reach me. A few days before my departure from Mandalay, he was once actually savage towards me. On the 3rd of November he called me down stairs and handing over some letters to me asked me in the presence of the European sergeant and the Burman

Police Officer, if I had a brother Dhanpat Rai by name, and if he had ever desired to see me. I replied in the affirmative and reminded him of a letter that I had received from my father informing me that my brother had made an application for permission to see me and that the same had been refused by the Punjab Government. After he had gone away, I wrote to him saying that his question had set me athinking that he had perhaps detained some letter containing the information about my brother's application, and that I should feel obliged if in accordance with past practice he would let me know merely the name of the writer. In writing this letter I could not possibly think that there was anything which was likely to offend him. All what I anticipated was a refusal to give me the information sought for, but reader, can you imagine, what scolding I got in reply to this letter from a man who was junior to me in years and in no way superior to me in education or in social position; the only superiority to which he could lay a claim being that his skin was white and that he belonged to a race which had, somehow, come to the possession of my country and passed a law under

which they could imprison any person without giving him a trial. The next morning when he came round, I was standing upstairs in the verándah, waiting as usual to know his wishes and the European Sergeant and other Police men were giving him the salute, when he shouted out in an angry tone that I had no business to put counter questions to him when he asked any questions of me; that I should not put "any such impertinent questions" to him and that he "did not want any cross questions." I replied that I had neither asked any impertinent questions nor put any cross questions to him and that there was no occasion for his showing temper. But he retorted in a still more insolent tone that he did not want to argue the matter with me and that I should not do it again. And away he went.* I need not say that this made me very miserable and had I not been released only a week after, I had determined to make a representation to Government about the treatment I was receiving from the Superintendent.

* His actual words were as follows :—

"Don't put any questions to me when I ask you any question. Don't put any such impertinent questions to me. I don't want any cross questions." Again he said "I do not want to argue the matter with you but don't you do it again." I noted these words immediately after he left.

I will now relate some more facts to show the amount of care which the Superintendent of Jail bestowed on me. On the 3rd of August, early in the morning I wrote to the Superintendent of Jail that I was feeling constipated and I would like to have a purgative. I got no reply for two days and was on the 3rd day told to take a particular mineral water. Towards the end of July, I felt some trouble in my eyes. With the permission of the Superintendent I wrote to my son to send me my spare pair of glasses, thinking that a change of glasses might relieve me. On the 2nd of August I received a parcel containing 2 pairs of eye glasses which, however, did not improve the eye-sight much. The Superintendent promised to examine my eyes and prescribe a new pair of glasses for me. This examination could not be effected till the 21st of October. On that day I was driven to the Hospital where the Superintendent examined me for about an hour and a half and eventually prescribed a new pair of glasses. On my suggesting that the new glasses may be adjusted in one of the old frames to save some money, one of my old pairs was taken from me for the purpose. On the 23rd I was told that my case was a complicated one

and that the Superintendent was not satisfied with the result of his examination and that the eyes would have to be re-examined. This re-examination, however, never took place and my pair of glasses were never returned to me.

The third incident that I am going to relate will show the real cause of all this indifference. On the 2nd of November, I noticed a troublesome pimple on one of my toes which prevented me from putting on boots and going out for walks. On the 3rd, when the Superintendent came on his round and shouted out from below if I was all right I went down and showed him the pimple. He said he would send me some dressing. He was probably going to the General Hospital then. In the afternoon I sent him a reminder and got no reply. Early next morning I thought I might remind him before he went to the City Hospital, so that he might leave orders behind, for the dressing being sent to me. This upset him and on the 4th when he came, he said in a tone of anger "Please do not show such impatience, if you don't get things at once. I have many things to do." Little wonder, then, if I made as few requests as was possible. Here was a man to whom alone

could look up for all my wants and requirements. He was supposed to look after my health and to meet my wants. With this object he came every day, enquired if I was all right and if I wanted anything. It passed on very well if I answered the first question in the affirmative and the 2nd in the negative. The moment I gave a different reply there was a chance of a scene taking place. If I wanted an article of diet I was referred to the servants, who in four cases out of five avoided complying with the request on some pretext or other. If I wanted an article of dress, I was again referred to the servants with the same result. If I wanted medicine I was told not to show impatience. If I wanted information I was scolded for being impertinent. All the same I am thankfull to God for not having been placed under a man more ill-tempered than Captain———, because I do not believe he was really bad. Generally he professed a great deal of solicitude for my health and insisted on my taking long walks. He did not wish that I should get bad food or be not served with what suited my taste; but the fact is that he had no time or agency to look to it. Latterly when doing the combined duties of Civil Surgeon and

Superintendent of Jail in a big place like Mandalay he was perhaps overworked. I do not know if any extra allowance was given to him for looking after the State Prisoners. If not, this was an extra trouble, which naturally he could not like. Then, there was a certain amount of botheration on account of so much secrecy being kept about everything relating to the State Prisoners. He could not ask for any assistance from his subordinates. But the most important fact, which in my opinion affected his temper was that he was a Superintenent of Jail. In this latter capacity he had to deal with thousands of convicts over whom he exercised vast powers and whom he was not required to show any courtesy. His idea of the requirements of a prisoner were based upon his experience of ordinary Jail life. From this latter point of view, it seemed preposterous to him that a prisoner should expect ice, lemonade, fruits &c., or that any prisoner should have the boldness to question his authority or his wisdom or to have the courage to ask for any information about his doings. He was only showing the temper of an Anglo-Indian Officer in assuming that his "Bando-bast" could in no way be defective. An English administrator in India

is nothing if not all knowing and all wise. To entertain any doubt about his wisdom or to find fault with his management is the height of impertinence which can be displayed by an Indian, whatever may be his position in life and however well educated he may be. Like other Anglo-Indians, Captain———— was very proud of the excellence of his "Bandobast." I have already related how he came down upon the European Sergeant on duty, for interfering in his "Bandobast," simply because the latter had informed me that any amount of vegetables could be had in the Bazar and that the servant had told me a lie when he said that such and such vegetables were not to be had. To top all, the man was an out and out Jingo in his politics. He probably believed in all the lies that the Anglo-Indian Press were circulating about me. At first he almost knew nothing about me but then gradually the stories published in the Anglo-Indian Press began to reach him and poison his mind against me. In this latter respect, the position of the Indian patriot, who in any way offends the bureaucracy is very unfortunate. The very class whom he has been criticising, whose doings he has been assailing, and finding

fault with, sit in judgment upon him. It is they who decide facts, and interpret law against him. It is they, who furnish the guard on him and it is eventually they to whose tender mercies he is entrusted for the purpose of undergoing his punishment. It is small wonder, then, if he finds himself a victim of all the racial prejudices of his jailors. In fact the wonder is that he does not suffer more. It speaks highly of the British love of fairplay that there are some amongst the Anglo-Indians, however limited their number may be, who do not allow their prejudices to get the better of their sense of justice and at times rise superior to all racial bias and dispense even-handed justice.

This is, however, only by the way. I was talking of the political opinions of my Superintendent which I gathered in the course of a few talks that I had with him. On the fourth of July he had a long conversation with me, in the course of which he said that the secret of their success was that an Englishman believed himself to be superior to every one else in the world. In his opinion, the fall of England will commence when this idea begins to be weakened amongst them. To quote his own words he said: "it is

true they (*i. e.*, the English) have no manners but that is just why they have succeeded so well." He believed that the Saxons and the Teutons were born rulers of men and the sovereignty of the world lay between them. When I pointed out the recent successes of Japan, he reluctantly admitted their ruling capacity but would go no further. Besides the English, the German, the American and the Japanese he would not recognize any other's capacity to rule. In his opinion good manners were an indication of imbecility. As an illustration he said "the Burmese had good manners but they were an utter failure as a nation." The Indians he looked upon with great contempt. He thought the Burmese were more manly than the Indians. The latter, he thought, were too cringing and abject, when in the presence of their superiors. Of the Indians in the I. M. S, he spoke very disparagingly. He said he did not like those, who adopted other people's manners and customs and abandoned their own. I controverted several of the statements and eventually wound up the conversation by saying that "nothing succeeds like success. You have succeeded so well, that you can say of others whatever you please." Once he

questioned me about my visit to England and enquired the names of those whom I happened to see, while there. On my mentioning the name of Mr. Leonard Courtney he turned his nose, and said no one in England knew him. Similarly he talked very contemptuously of persons like Stead and Labouchere. Stead in his opinion was a "disgrace to his race." Twice my son sent me Mr. Stead's *Review of Reviews*. Once he passed it, but the next time he positively refused to do so, making the remarks quoted above and adding that he did not want me to read Mr. Stead's Politics. He perhaps thought that I was just forming my political opinions and by withholding Mr. Stead's Review he would be protecting my Political constitution from the poisonous effects of that gentleman's Political pharmacœpia. Later on he gave me a number of the *Fortnightly Review*, which had been sent by my son and contained an article on Indian unrest from the Anglo-Indian point of view. When I opened it I found that passages in that article had been very kindly marked by the Superintendent for my benefit. It did not take me very long to find out that this man's knowledge of India and Indian matters was not more than skin deep. Under the circum-

stances I think I could not expect a better treatment from him than what I got and that on the whole I should be grateful to him.

I have reason to believe that he recommended that I should be allowed to take drives out of Fort. He might have even recommended, as I once guessed, that there was no objection to allow me a Panjabee servant and also newspapers. But the higher authorities would not agree. There was another trait in the character of the Superintendent of Jail, which must be commended, if it was genuine and not confined to his dealings with me *viz.*—that he seemed to be very particular about Government money. All through my confinement his one effort was to spend as little as possible. At first he tried to make me pay for the clothes that he got made for me. For some time he did not pay for the barber. He would not allow me ice. I don't think he spent the whole of the allowance he got for me from the Government. He was very sparing in spending money upon utensils, furniture, &c., and wanted the whole show to be run within the allowance fixed at his request. While speaking once on the question of supply of winter clothing, he complained that while

asking the Government to fix so much as monthly allowance for me, he never calculated the cost of clothing, &c., but then he continued, he could distribute it over several months and pay the bill out of the savings of monthly allowance. Besides the clothing that he supplied me with, in the beginning, before I had received my own clothes from home, he never spent one pie upon my dress. I spent my own money, whenever I wanted anything. About two weeks before my return he had ordered some winter clothes for me but the moment he heard that I was going to be released, he cancelled his orders and made me pay from my money for what had already been supplied under his orders. I paid my own postage, not only on letters but also on the parcels of books and Magazines that I got from home or other places and which had to be returned from time to time. In his opinion, it was not fair to charge Government with such expenditure. I wish every Anglo-Indian Officer were as careful about the tax payer's money, though Captain—— never expressed this to be the motive of his frugality, during the six months I was in his charge.

For two days during temporary absence of

the permanent Superintendent of Jail from the Station, I received visits from another Medical Officer, a R. A. M. C. Major, whose amiable manners and courteous treatment left a very agreeable impression on my mind. All I can say of him is that he was every inch a gentleman.

The Deputy Commissioner.

II. The Deputy Commissioner of Mandalay, a Military gentleman, used to see me once a month. The regulation III of 1818 under which I was confined, lays down that the State Prisoner shall be visited at least once every month by the Judge or Magistrate of the District and it was in that capacity that he came to see me. The first time he came to see me, he spoke to me very kindly, promised to lend me books for study, which he did, and chatted with me for a short time. His subsequent visits were generally formal. As a rule he only enquired after my health and asked if I had to make any complaints. During the whole of my period of confinement, I scrupulously avoided making any complaints against any body. I do not believe in an Indian, complaining against one European to another. For if

the facts are disputed, his word can possibly carry no weight against that of a European, whatever his position in life; secondly, because in case of the complaint failing to have any effect, he runs the risk of his life being made more miserable by the officer complained against. An Englishman in India is to be presumed to be faultless and infallible. So I made no complaints. The last time this gentleman saw me, on the 5th October, he put me the usual question about my health. I was in those days suffering from neauralgic pains in my fore-head. The Civil Sergean had said that it was probably due to Malaria. So he prescribed Quinine and I was taking it. In reply to the Deputy Commissioner's question about my health I told him that I was all right except that I had Neauralgic pains in my head, which was due to Malaria. No sooner had I uttered this last word than the man lost his balance. He might have thought that here was another fib that I was inventing to discredit the "Bandobast" of the Mandalay authorities. In a tone of extreme distrustfulness he twice ejaculated "What! Malaria!" In reply I quoted the authority of the Doctor. Even this failed to satisfy him, until I

said that I had only casually mentioned it and did not mean to make any complaint. "Ah! that is a different thing," said he. This conversation only proved to me the wisdom of my resolve about making no complaints, although the Deputy Commissioner was supposed to see me with a view to ascertain if I had to make any complaints. Once before he had assured me that he would be glad to hear any complaints that I might have to make, and submit such of them as were reasonable for the orders of the Government.

The Superintendent of Police.

III. The Superintendent of Police and his staff also saw me occasionally and asked if I had any complaints to make. They were generally courteous, though unreasonably suspicious. The Superintendent of Police cared more for the smart look of his men and the quickness of their movements than for anything else. The guard was required to turn out at all times of the day and night; four men in day time but all after sunset. The Police subordinates considered him to be hypercritical and given to unnecessary fault-finding. The constables and others were in awful dread of him and their chief care was to

be on the look out for officers coming on visiting rounds, no matter if the prisoner was in or out. It was very interesting to watch them committing to memory the English words "Call out;" and then to miss them just at the right time. The Superintendent of Police one day came and asked me how much wealth I possessed. He said he had received a report that my son was prepared to spend four lakhs on my release, evidently meaning that he was exerting to secure my escape from custody. On hearing this I could not help laughing and saying that I wished I had even a fraction of what I was reported to have. I proceeded further to make an offer of advising my sons to accept one fourth of the amount mentioned by the Sahib, for all the property I had left for them. The Sahib, however, concluded by saying that it was probably a silly story.

On another occasion he began to sympathise with me saying that it was so ordained in my "*Qismat.*" He had, however, hardly uttered this latter word when I said that I did not believe in "*Qismat*" (fate) though I believed in "*Karma*" and was quite contented in the faith that I was working out the latter. It was more than once that he suggested that

I should have some more furniture and should ask for it, but I had resolved to be as sparing in my demands as was possible. I must, however, thank him for putting on a pleasing appearance whenever he came to see me. And I think I can say the same about the Deputy Superintendent of Police and the European Inspector of Police who visited me occasionally.

The European Sergeants.

(IV). During the six months I was at Mandalay I saw about a dozen European Sergeants in all. They were all retired soldiers of the British Army; all except two, being young men of about 30 years of age. Two of them were re-removed from the Force during this period, on account of charges more or less connected with service on the State prisoners. I was told that one of these had been removed for having put up Sardar Ajit Singh to ask for certain articles of diet and also for having made certain reflections about the honesty of superior European officers. This man had made himself very disagreeable to the other Sergeants by his criticism of them. So one of them, one day, revenged himself on him by reporting him to the Superintendent of Police, which report eventually cost him his post.

The other man was discharged from the Police Force for having made a false charge against a brother Sergeant to the effect that he was drunk when he came patrolling. This man was a foppish young man, very proud of his position, very annoying in his manners and very mischievous in his intentions. Once or twice in walks he tried to cross-examine me and to get out of me if I knew what had been going on in India since my arrest? He wanted me to believe that he was very highly connected, that he received regular news from the Punjab and now and then gave bits of information which he thought might lead me to indiscreet remarks. He showed a great deal of concern for my welfare, as to how could I bear this solitary life, hinting quietly that in his knowledge some men in my position had put an end to their lives and so on. He was so disagreeable that I began to dislike his company. I would not go out for exercise whenever he came on duty. Sometimes he sent his Sub-Inspector to me to enquire if I would go out for a walk and on my declining to go, he entered the fact in his diary. But if I disliked him, the other European Sergeants positively hated him. He had unfortunately given out when entering

service (as he had only recently joined the Police Force) that he had been born somewhere in Madras. Subsequently he withdrew this statement and wanted to pose as an Englishman. He told me himself that he had stated a lie deliberately, in order to throw people off their scent. He said he did not believe that any one ever spoke the whole truth, upon which I remarked that he was just the man for the Police Department and that he had chosen the proper career for himself. The other Sergeants believed that he was a half-caste and consequently hated him. He assumed airs, to the disparagement of other Sergeants and proclaimed that he was highly connected and would get a rapid promotion in the Police Department. He believed himself to be a very smart fellow and used to make a pedantic show of his education and his superior knowledge. All this made him an eyesore to the other Sergeants. They began to take pleasure in teasing him. One of them would not describe him as a European Sergeant in the diary, and every time the former came on duty he put the prefix "E" before the word Sergeant, to signify that he was as good a European Sergeant as the others. Mr. ——

had thus incurred the hatred of his brother Sergeants. The result was that he was hardly two months in the Police when he had to go away bag and baggage. The charge he had made against a brother Sergeant was, of course, false and so he well deserved the punishment, he received. It may be stated here once for all that the position and office of a European Sergeant in Burma Police is quite an anomaly. Although a Sergeant he ranks higher than a Sub-Inspector. He gets Rs. 100 per month with Rs. 25 to Rs. 50 as monthly house allowance. He gets a fixed amount per year for his clothing and boots, &c., but such consideration is not shown to the Sub-Inspectors. The Sub-Inspectors are, mostly, Burmans or Indians. The European Sergeants are generally retired or discharged soldiers of the British Army. A European Sergeant starts with a salary of Rs. 100. The Sub-Inspecter has with rare exceptions to rise from the ranks. The European Sergeants, however, think that they are underpaid.

The other European Sergeants who kept guard on me, from time to time, were on the whole very reasonable in their treatment of me. I found them generally agreeable

and courteous, though a man of my education could not feel at home in the company of Tommies. Most of them were not very particular about their language and talked slang. There was only one amongst the whole batch who had any literary taste. He was extremely fond of novels and we often exchanged these. I thought the Police Department was hardly a place for him. He had no heart in his work and lost his temper very easily. To the subordinate Constabulary he was very hard. Most of these European Seargents had Eurasian wives, but curiously enough, they exhibited a deep seated hatred of the "half-breeds," as they called them, and never missed a chance of villifying them as a class. Of course, every one took particular care to make an exception in favour of his own wife. One of them, an English widower who had not yet remarried, evoked roars of laughter when he described the household of another brother Sergeant having a Eurasian wife and a Eurasian mother-in-law. Here he was, said he, drawing Rs. 125 per month including house rent. He had to maintain a wife, a mother-in-law and three children. His liquor bill alone exceeded Rs. 100 per month, as he required one bottle of whisky and two of beer every day for himself.

Then the ladies too could not do without a bottle or two of beer every day. Over and above all this, his wife must have (1) a cook (2) a Bhishti, (3) a Sweeper, (4) an Ayah (5) a boy and (6) a Dhobi. Again, he said, it was only fair that the ladies and the children should have an occasional drive, attend and give parties. How on earth, would he conclude, could he live on his pay? and still he was supposed to be an honest fellow! This man was very bitter against these people as he had suffered at their hands. He had been lodging and boarding with them for some time when he thought he had been wronged by them and his kindness had been repaid by theft of money and also by calumny. But it was a typical picture that he painted of most Eurasian families and he indulged in cutting jokes, when he compared their life with those of the lower-middle class people in England. He used to say he would rather marry a pure Indian or a Burmese girl than a Eurasian.

The European Sergeants I came across appeared to me very much dissatisfied with the conditions of their service. This particular duty they were required to perform on the State prisoners was, of course, extremely disagreeable to them. There they had to

be shut up for twenty-four hours at a stretch, every one of them, being thus reduced to the State of a prisoner as much as the State prisoner himself, over whom they kept a watch. Then they disliked walks. They were obliged to take cold meals. It was a situation which neither interested them nor paid them. So they grumbled. But even independently of this particular duty, they thought themselves to be underpaid, considering the princely salaries and other privileges enjoyed by the Superintendents and the Deputy Superintendents of Police, who did much less work than they had to do. Some of them recited stories and stated facts which would be revelations indeed, if one were to put them in black and white. On the whole, they interested me very much and were generally jovial. The present was their only look out. For the future they cared pretty little. They ate fairly good food, in no way inferior to what I used to get. They dressed well. With the exception of one, the others enjoyed drink to moderation, though some did not mind an occasional dip to excess. I am under obligation to them for the sympathy and consideration I received from them. Some of them were very good indeed, considering that they expected nothing in return.

from me. One of them, however, was very cruel when he invented imaginary stories and spun out yarns from nothingness, in order to tease me. Just imagine, reader, my feelings on being informed one day that Mr. Dada Bhai Noroji was dead and that forty-five of the Rawalpindi accused had been convicted. I was simply crushed on hearing this and could not recover myself for days. However on the whole I entertain nothing but feelings of gratefulness for the body of European Sergeants that did duty on me at Mandalay. I noticed with regret that so far as mutual jealousy, mistrust of each other, and back-biting were concerned, they were in no way superior, if not much inferior to the corresponding class of Indians.

Burmese Sub-Inspectors and Constables.

I do not think I should close this part of my narrative without saying a few words about the Burmese Sub-Inspectors and the Burmese Constables who were told to do duty on me. The former were, as a class, gentlemen. One of them was exceptionally smart. In a Burmese Administration he would have played a very important part. But here he was in disgrace, because his District

Superintendent did not like him for his independence. The suspicion against him was that once he took a large sum in bribe which he would not share with his Superintendent. Of the others, one had been reduced from the post of a Sub-Inspector with Rs. 80 p. m., to that of a Head Constable drawing Rs. 25 p. m. for his having joined with his European Sergeant in making a false charge of drunkenness against another European Officer. This man had a service of over 25 years at his back and was ruined because he could not resist the evil influence of his immediate superior. The Burman constables were a set of jolly fellows, happy in the present and not caring a straw for the future. Some of them were very ugly looking, and the majority had very poor physique. The Burmese are known for laziness and it is very difficult to put them under discipline. They eat a great deal, though the quality of their food is very poor. They are great smokers and their favourite beverage is tea without milk and sugar. They are very easily pleased and are, as a rule, very submissive. One or two European Sergeants treated them roughly but they put up with all insults rather quietly. The Superintendent of Jail was often angry with them for

not holding his bicycle properly and turning its face in the wrong direction. I think they are intellectually an inferior set of people as compared with the corresponding class of Indians. Some of them, however, were sufficiently smart. One or two knew a little English and at least one spoke good Hindustani. Their morals were said to be very loose and about some I heard very disgraceful stories. Their poverty at times excited my pity. They fell on the remnants of the European Sergeants' food like men who had eaten nothing for days. Some of them knew how to take advantage of their position in levying blackmail from hawkers. I think the Police in Burma, including the Europeans, are as good or as bad as the Police in India. There is perhaps, nothing to choose between the two, except that the Indian Police may give points to the Burman Police in fabricating false evidence, extorting confessions and inventing stories. The pure Burmese are only novices in the art in which the Indian Police are past masters. Some of these Burmese Policemen I found had acquired great skill in catching snakes and serpents. A vast majority believed in ghosts and nats. I was told that some of them were afraid of

travelling on certain roads or passing certain trees in the dark. Every one of them could read and write Burmese. There is hardly any Burmese who is illiterate. Their women used to bring their food for them and I sometimes watched them with interest. The poor classes can get no meat. Even good fish they can not afford to have, if it has to be purchased for price. Of vegetables, they take very little. A thin soup prepared of some green leaves and a surprisingly small quantity of vegetable currie, with a plate full of boiled rice is all that forms their food. Even this costs them over six rupees a month per man at contract rates. A few of them had good features, almost resembling the high class Hindus of India. They are of small stature but generally plump and well-built like the Gurkhas. Their features, however, bear a greater resemblance to the Aryans than to the Gurkhas. They knew no intoxicants before the advent of the British, who introduced opium and wine in their country. Even now the sale of intoxicants to the Burmese is interdicted, but then there are so many ways in which they can be procured that it is difficult to check their spread. A Burman, whether male or female, is

generally neat in his dress. Both sexes have a passionate love for colours. Even old men like to have coloured *pasohs* of bright crimson, if possible, not to speak of young girls, married women and old matrons. Both sexes care a great deal for personal attractions, taking particular care of their hair. Their dress is very meagre, consisting mostly of a white jacket and a *pasoh* or a *tamein* as the case may be. Their favourite foot-wear consists of sandals of bark, or slippers of cloth. The head dress of men consists of a silk handkerchief, tied round the head like the *pugree*, with the centre of the head bare. The females generally do not put on any head dress.

An obiter dictum on the effects of British Rule in Burma.

The sexual relations in Burma have always been rather loose, but now with the advent of a large number of foreigners they are getting disgracefully and unspeakably worse. A European Sergeant told me how he could keep a pretty young girl, both as mistress and female servant on a monthly salary of Rs. 20 per mensem. He kept her for about 10 months and on transfer dismissed her. You hear of a very large

number of such stories. In Burma sometime back, it was generally supposed that every European, from the highest to the lowest, kept a Burman mistress. This may be an exaggeration, but there can be no doubt that the standard of sexual morality, is extremely low. In Burma a large mixed population of half-castes including Eurasians, children of Mohammedans, Hindus and Chinese is springing up which is bound to make the political problem in that country extremely difficult and complex. Before the advent of the European in Burma the population of this unfortunate country consisted of one race alone. They followed one religion, spoke one language and lived almost the same life from one end of the country to the other. But to-day the case is quite different. The pure Burmese is being driven to the wall. Indigenous industry of all kinds has been crushed. Trade is almost all in the hands of foreigner, be they Europeans, Hindus, Mohammedans or Chinese. The mixture of blood is going on at a fearfully rapid rate and freely. Religion is being tampered with openly. In a few decades the Burman of the 19th Century is likely to disappear. The country and its mineral resources are being exploited in the interests

of the foreigners. Railways, Telegraph, and Roads all lead to the same result. The best and the most lucrative occupations are in the hands of the Europeans, the Indians or the Chinese. English education has not as yet taken root in the country. Here was a splendid opportunity for the British to introduce education on sound lines, if they had been sincerely moved by the best interests of the country, because almost the entire male population of this country was and is literate. This was and is due to the influence of Budhist monasteries, which is being gradually undermined now. How far the English system of education has progressed, may be gathered from the fact that in the whole country which is in area as big as Bengal and in population half as large as Punjab, there are only two Colleges; one maintained by the Government and the other by the Missionaries. Both are in Rangoon. There is not a single College in Upper Burma, in Arakan or in Tenaseram. Taking the latest figures, the total number of Burmese students who have graduated from the Calcutta University during the last five years is 34 and the largest number of passes was secured in the first year. "The average daily attendance at the Rangoon College rose from 126 in the

year 1901-1902 to 161 in 1905-06, but declined again in 1906-7 to 104. The figures of the Baptist College rose from 13 to 20 at the end of the quinquennium." The discussion in para 3 of the Lieutenant-Governor's review of the 3rd quinquennial Report of Public Instruction in Burma suggests that the Anglo-Indians have already raised a cry of too much education in Burma. "There is no risk in Burma" says the Lieutenant-Governor at least for many years to come, that the supply of higher education will exceed the demand. There were in this Province in 1906-07 only some 700 boys at School who had passed beyond the middle stage of Anglo-Vernacular education as compared with 34,000 in Bengal, and 20,000 in Bombay, in Eastern Bengal, Assam and in Madras. The Lieutenant-Governor's opinion is not that Secondary Education has been extended too far but that it requires to be extended much further; not that is too elaborate, but that it is incomplete." In the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor secondary education in Burma must be extended because of the "direct and immediate interest which the Government has in its results. A supply of native officers educated on European lines

is a necessity so long as the administration of the country is carried on by European methods but with the aid of the people, themselves." There is not a word of the larger interest of the country itself in higher education. Of the facilities for technical education for Burmese the less said the better. An English lady* concluding a chapter of her book on Burman arts and industries made the following observations in 1897 :—

"The Industrial and Technical Schools of Japan afford the most excellent models to the British Government in Burma. The two peoples are similar in race, ideas, religion, and sentiment ; and after allowing for the difference due to climate, I believe that much of the technical skill which is so marked in the Japanese might be developed in the Burmese. Of the intelligence of the people there is no doubt, and their manual skill is of a high order ; their needs are few, and the extension and encouragement of small artistic industries to be carried out in their homes would insure a great deal of happiness and well being which would do more to consolidate the British power and to establish British rule

* Picturesque Burma by Mrs. Ernest Hart, p. 212.

in the hearts of the people than all the guns of the Cantonments. The governors and the governed would have one aim—the greatest good of the greatest number—and we should cease to hear the complaint: "We grow poorer and poorer," and the lament for the good times now passed, when the king employed the skill of hundreds of wood-carvers, metal-workers, weavers, and embroiderers. Where hundreds were once employed thousands could now be at work, IF THE OBJECT IN VIEW BE NOT TO LET NATIVE INDUSTRY TO DIE SO THAT BURMA MAY BE A MARKET FOR MANCHESTER AND BIRMINGHAM BUT TO MAKE THE PEOPLE INDUSTRIAL AND THE COUNTRY SELF-SUPPORTING AND PROSPEROUS. We owe at least this endeavour to a conquered people, OTHERWISE CONQUEST IS BUT CUPIDITY AND GOVERNMENT SELF-INTEREST.*

Few years have elapsed since when the above remarks were penned and the progress of Technical Education in Burma may be gathered from the following extracts made from the 3rd quinquennial report of education in Burma just published.

"I. Technical education of a *serious* kind is carried on in Burma through the following

*I have put these lines in Small Caps.

Agencies:—

(*a*). A Government Engineering School situated at Insein near Rangoon.

(*b*). Technical Classes attached to the Railway workshop at Insein.

(*c*). Boards constituted by Government at Rangoon, Moulmein Akyab and Mandalay which dispense stipends to European lads who are apprenticed out "to any Railway Workshop, Ship-Building, or Timber-Yard; in any Sea-going or River Steamer or Ship; at any River-Mill or other place of manufacture of or business which the Board may approve."

(*d*) Technical School Classes or Departments aided by the Department.

(*e*) Survey Schcols maintained by Government.

(*f*) The Government Reformatory School.

II. The Government Engineering School was founded in 1885. It now contains 63 puplis and aims mainly at supplying pupils for the Upper and Lower Subordinate establishments of the Public Works Department, though a certain number of people have passed through its courses without entering the Government Engineering Service. Since 1901-02 the numbers on the rolls have risen from 27 to 63. The classes comprise in addition to Europeans and Eurasians, Natives of India, Burmans and Karens. The Head Master notes that the proportion of Burmans is increasing, which is a healthy sign, but that of Europeans and Eurasians. has fallen very considerably in comparisen with previous years and with the number of Indians attending the School. At the final Examinations in 1906-07 there sat only 9 Eurasians and no European, as against 14 Burmans and Karens and 40 natives of India. Not a few of the last class come out direct to the School from India and on passing out find employment there. The School, therefore, through no fault of its own, but because of the indifference of the Classes whom it might specially benefit, caters more for Indians than for

Burmans and persons permanently domiciled in Burma" As to who is responsible for this state of things, however much opinions might differ but no sensible man can gainsay that the chief blame must be laid at the doors of the alien Government, which by neglect of its duty towards the sons of the soil, is driving them to the position of mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. The report is entirely silent as to what special efforts were made by the Government to educate Burmans and draw them to this school. Taxation is almost grinding. Burma contributes largely to the finances of the Empire. The following quotation from the same authoress speaks for itself :—

"With so large a balance in the hands of the Government, Burma can surely have everything she requires in the way of the schools, Technical schools, Assistance to industries, Roads or Railways. Hitherto the revenue from Burma has, after meeting expenditure, gone to fill the empty Exchequer of India, but it is the intention of the Government to devote in future some of the surplus to Burma. A country so rich and a people with a genius for happiness should be able to find delightful

and original methods of using a large surplus; but also a Government, who has the care of the people, so various as those that inhabit Burma, many of whom have still to be civilised and educated, has ample outlet for funds." ('Picturesque Burma' p. 377.)

I am afraid there is a great deal of reason in the forecast of those people who think that the Burmans are doomed, as the people of every country must be, which is ruled principally in the interests of the foreign people.

Major Harvest's Visits.

Beside the Official visits of the Superintendent of Jail and Police and the Deputy Commissioner, I received two friendly visits from a European Officer Major Harvest who was the Cantonment Magistrate of the place. He made it a point to remind me during the course of these visits that his visits were purely friendly and had been undertaken solely out of kindness, in fulfilment of the behests of his religion which enjoined upon every good Christian to be kind to people who suffered from disease, imprisonment, &c. This man is a Roman Catholic by faith and a great admirer of Lord Ripon. He told me he was a liberal and favoured Home Rule for Ireland. He professed to be a well-wisher

of India but deprecated the methods of Irish and Indian Nationalists in gaining their objects. It was he who informed me for the first time that I was suspected of having tampered with the loyalty of the Indian army. He also added that the Anglo-Indian papers compared me with Nana Sahib of the Mutiny fame. I told him that all these were malicious calumnies started by unscruplous people who had personal reasons to think evil of me. He said that the only thing Englishmen there knew about me was what they read in Anglo-Indian papers and that they judged me accordingly. He very kindly lent me some books for which I am grateful to him.

CHAPTER VII.

HOW I OCCUPIED MYSELF.

The daily routine, I observed at Mandalay was as follows:—

I generally got up between 5 and 6 A. M. and after attending to the calls of nature and washing myself I said my prayers. Finishing this, I took a cup of hot milk and went out for a walk. On return I occupied myself in religious reading which was out of the following books :—

(1). "Bhagwad Gita" with the aid of an English translation and Hindi commentary.

(2). "Message of the Vedas," a collection of Vedic hymns, with an English translation by L. Gokal Chand, M. A.

(3). "Yog Darshan" with the aid of a Hindi commentary.

(4). Master Durga Prasad's "Selections of Vedic hymns" and sacred songs, &c.

(5). "The Taitriya Upanishad" with a Hindi commentary.

After this I engaged myself in miscellaneous reading. Between 11 and 12, I had a bath and then took my breakfast. After

this, I retired for an hour or two reading magazines, if I had any. I again used to study up to 5-0 or 6-0 P. M. and sometimes write letters. Sometimes I took notes on Burma and did other writing work, by way of change. At about 5-0 P. M. I went for my evening walk, from which I had to return before it was dark. On return, I generally took a cool drink (Lemonade or Gingerade) and kept sitting in the compound for an hour, till I went up and took a bath before dinner. Dinner finished, sometimes I tried to read but often had to give it up in despair, as the number of worms and moths, that gathered round the candle made it extremely unpleasant to sit before it At about 9 P. M. generally, I went to bed. I was very irregular in my evening prayers, though I never let any evening pass without an informal recitation of Vedic hymns or Bhajans.

The Books I Studied.

Besides religious reading the range of my studies at Mandalay was fairly wide. In fact, I finished every book that I could lay my hands on, however trivial its contents, or however ephemeral its interest. For me the greatest need was to keep myself occupied. I read a very large

number of novels, which were of no real value, with the sole object of killing my time. All the same the folowing list of books read by me at Mandalay will show that I occupied my time very profitably in studying some standard works of literature.

(*a*) Of Books dealing with Burmah, the Burmans and Burmese History, I read :—

(1). "Burma under British Rule and Before" by Nisbet, 2 volumes.
(2). "Picturesque Burma, Past and Present" by Mrs. Earnest-Hart.
(3). "Burma and Burman nations" by Schway Yoe.
(4). "Silken East" in two Volumes.
(5). "Among Pagodas and Fair Ladies."
(6). Scott's "Hand Book on Burma"
(7). Fielding Hall's "A Nation at School."
(8). Fielding Hall's "The Soul of a People.
(9). "Census Report of British Burma."
(10). "The Administration Report of Burma for 1904-05.

Besides these a number of small stories describing Burmese life, customs and manners.

(*b*) General Books :—

(1). Justin M'Carthy's Reminiscence, two Volumes.
(2). Justin M'Carthy's "History of our own Times" five Volumes.

(3). History of Modern England by Herbert Paul, five Volumes.

(4). Duffy's "New Ireland."

(5). Herbert Spencer's Autobiography, two Volumes.

(6). Lecky's "History of Rationalism in Europe," two Volumes.

(7). Hallam's "History of Middle Ages," 3 Volumes.

(8). Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republic," two Volumes.

(9). Bryce's "Commonwealth" (United States of America), two Volumes.

(10). Ledger and Sword "A History of the East India Company," two Volumes.

(11). "History of the Indian Mutiny," by Kaye and Malleson, Volumes 2 and 3.

(12). Lord Robert's "Forty-one Years in India.

(13). Fielding Hall's "Hearts of Man."

(14). Voltaire's "Candide."

(15). "Evolution of Industry" (Contemporary Science Series).

(16). Harbilas Sarda's "Hindu Superiority.

(17). Dickinson's "Modern Symposium."

(18). Patterson's "Nemesis of Nations."

(19). Poems of Byron.

(20). Poems of Thomas Moore.

(*c*) Novels (a few names only).

Charles Dicken's Nickleby; David Copperfield; Oliver Twist, Barnaby Rudge; Low Lytton's Rienzi; Thackeray's Vanity Fair; George Elliot's Mill on the Floss; Marie Corellie's Temporal Power.

Besides, I read a large number of miscellaneous Novels by Anthony Hope, Grant, Mrs. Crawford, Tolstoy, Churchill and others.

(*d*) Of Urdu and Perian Books I had the *Dewan-i-Hafiz*, the *Dewan-i-Zauq*, Azad's *Ab-i-Hayat*, Azad's *Nairang-i-Khia*

(*e*) I used to get the following periodicals from home but only stray numbers were allowed :—

The "Review of Reviews" (only one number allowed).
"The Nineteenth Century and After."
"The Westminister Magazine."
"The Fortnighly Review."
"The Contemporary Review."
"Hindustan Review," (2 or 3 numbers allowed.)
"The Modern Review" (only two numbers allowed.)
"The Vedic and Gurukul Magazine."
"The Zamana," (an Urdu Monthly).
"The Makhzan," an Urdu Monthly.
"The Dev Nagri Pracharni Patrika," A Hindi Monthly.

Literary Work.

During my confinement I did a certain amount of literary work. I wrote :—

(*a*). A small book on Burma in Urdu based on notes taken from the books I read as well as on con-

versations with Burmese Sub-Inspectors.

(b). An Urdu Novel which I could not finish. I, however, wrote about 150 pages of foolscap size.

(c). A small paper in Udru on current topics.

(d). A paper on the *Message of the Bhagwat Gita* in English.

(e). An article on *Social Reform*, in English.

Of these (d) has already been published in the *Modern Review* of March 1908 and has since then been reprinted as a tract.

Reflections.

I wish I had noted down the stray thoughts that arose in my mind in the course of my studies at Mandalay. Some of them were jotted down in the Diary but they are too brief to be copied here with any chance of being intelligible to the general reader. Just now unfortunately I can spare no time to enlarge on them and must reserve this for some other occasion.

The companions of my prison life.

My chief trouble in my exile was loneliness. I had never before felt so solitary. My revered friend Lala Hans Raj, Honorary Principal

of the D. A.-V. College, put his hand on the right chord when he said that having been sociable all my life, the present enforced solitariness must be very trying to me. Some of the European Sergeants on duty were kind to me and I sought their company now and then, but, after all, what pleasure could their company give me. Firstly, the disparity berween my education and position in life and theirs was too large to admit of their entering into my sentiments and feelings Then our tastes differed very much. They represented the animal side of the British character, while my tastes leant towards the spiritual side of the Hindu temperament However there is one thing in me, which stands me in good stead whenever I am put in new and strange environments, *viz.*, my readiness to adapt myself to new circumstances. But even this adaptability could not reconcile me to an unqualified enjoyment of the company into which I was put. I was therefore much relieved to find two kittens in my bungalow? They were very pretty. One looked like a ginger-coloured tigress and the other had black spots. I began to feed them, and they became attached to me. Their company was thus a happy change. It soon, how-

ever, transpired that it was not an unmixed blessing, as at night they would insist to sleep in the same bed with me. This disturbed me very much and for some nights a regular struggle ensued between my attachment to them and the discomfort that they thus caused to me. They wanted to give me their company during the day as well as at night, while I wanted it only for the day. Eventually, I had to ask the servant to shut them in an outhouse every night, after dinner. In a few days they grew accustomed to my habits and would not disturb me at night. Sometimes I spent a good portion of an hour in watching them playing with each other, licking each other and lying in each other's arm like twin sisters. Their attachment to each other was remarkable. For me, at least, it was a new experience. But then how strange and inconsistent it looked when they fought over the food. Over a piece of meat they were ready to tear each other into pieces. One of them being the more adroit and cunning than the other, always managed to consume the best portion of the common food served to them and then I had to interfere in the interests of the weaker. As an explanation of what is every minute going on in the

world, whether amongst human beings or amongst animals or even in the vegetable world, this behaviour of the kittens amused and interested me a great deal. I, however, tried to instil some notions of justice and fairplay in their minds, by making them drink milk in the same cup. I thus busied myself in their affairs for a good hour or two in the day. They would by turn come and sit in my arms, lick my hands and show other marks of love. What a joy it was to feel that after all there were two creatures in the building who loved me. Gradually they began to take their food together quite peacefully and I felt a sort of pride in giving them a training in cordiality and peacefulness. A few days later, I decided to make some additions to my little household and asked some of the servants to bring me a pup. A few days before my departure I got one but it was not a pretty thing and on the morning of the day of my departure from Mandalay, I returned it to the owner, having been promised a better one by the sweeper of the house. In the roof of the staircase, amongst the beams and rafters, lived a family of *Mynas* who administered music to me but one of the Ser-

geants took a fancy for them. The mother being too astute, he could not get hold of her but removed the two young ones to his home. This was done in the absence of the mother, who on her return, not finding her little ones became utterly disconsolate and filled the whole house with bitter cries and pathetic lamentations. She hovered round her nest for a few days and then left it in despair, never to return again. Thus I lost the company of these good birds by the cruelty of one of my gaolers, a man who had inherited the evil nature of both the English and the Indian and was entirely devoid of the good points of either.

On the morning of the 11th my two kittens had gone out for a ramble when I was removed bag and baggage to the Railway Station. There was no time to wait for their return as the Commissioner had told me that the Special train was ready. The Superintendent and the Deputy Superintendent of Police wanted me to be quick. So the only pang that I felt in leaving that house was this forced separation from the two kittens. During my confinement I had been reading Byrons "Prisoner of Chillon," and this little incident reminded me of those lines wherein he puts the following touching

sentences in the mouth of the Prisoner at the time of his liberation :

"And thus when they appear'd at last,
And all my bonds aside were cast,
These heavy walls to me had grown
A hermitage—and all my own!
And half I felt as they were come
To tear me from a second home :
With spiders I had friendship made,
And watch'd them in their sullen trade,
Had seen the mice by moon-light play,
And why should I feel less than they ?
We were all inmates of one place,
And I, the monarch of each race,
Had power to kill—yet strange to tell !
In quiet we had learn'd to dwell,
My very chains and I grew friends,
So much a long communion tends
To make us what we are :—even I
Regain'd my freedom with a sigh.

Bhagwat Gita and Dewan Hafiz.

I do not think however, I can close this chapter without laying myself open to a charge of ingratitude if I were to omit paying a tribute to the two Masters, whose constant company was a source of great strength and consolation to me. Lord Sri Krishna, one of the greatest Indian Masters, conversed with me in words of practical wisdom, pitched in immortal strain; and the celebrated poet of Shiraz spoke to me of love and of the troubles that inevitably followed the course of the latter. My troubles, I thought had been brought about by *love* (love of principles and love of country) and therefore the appeals and wailings of Hafiz

went straight to the core of my heart and were a source of solace to me. I enjoyed "Hafiz" in my imprisonment much more than I had ever done before in my childhood, when I read it with my father. Besides these I owe a great deal to the company of other friends and teachers whose writings kept up my spirits and afforded me occupation in this my first experience of loneliness. No one need ever despair of himself, who can have access to the noble company of these master minds, who are ever at his service, in any and every condition of life.

———

CHAPTER VIII.

STATE OF MIND DURING CONFINEMENT.

About two months before my arrest I had lost my son-in-law, a distinguished B. A., M. B. of the Punjab University and a brilliant young medical practitioner, 26 years of age. This sad event had left my daughter and her infant son entirely dependent on me. The public engagements of the period, however, hardly left me any time to devote to the affairs of my poor girl and to make suitable arrangements for her future. My eldest son too was at that time without any work. About two years before, he had left his studies to apply himself to business. The winter of 1906-1907 he had passed in a small Cotton ginning factory, jointly owned by me and two of my friends, in order to receive a preliminary training in business. I had had no time to give him a start in life, when the events of the spring of 1907 made it impossible for me to do anything for him. Thus my affairs were in a state of complete disorder when I was arrested. The first thing

to which I had, therefore, to devote my attention, while at Mandalay, was to issue instructions to set them right for the benefit of my sons. My sons already knew what my belongings were, so I had only to transfer them in proper form in favour of my sons and I accordingly did so without any loss of time. The arrangement has left me practically penniless with the exception of a few stray Shares in some Joint Stock Companies and the amount of money standing to the credit of my charity accounts.

Of my children the only one for whom I cared much and whose thought sometimes disturbed me was my widowed daughter. Of the other members of my family the only one for whose sake I, at times, regretted my deportation was my old father. I was happy to think that my mother had died long before and that both my younger brothers had settled in life. I had therefore not many family cares to distract my thoughts and sadden my mind in my exile. Of my wife I was confident that she would bear her misfortune with fortitude. In the first few letters that I wrote to my son I impressed upon him the necessity of looking after my father and of doing nothing which

might annoy him. Now that I am free I can only look with pride upon the high-mindedness and nobility with which my father took my exile. I owe a great deal to my mother, who gave me constant lessons in charity, generosity and hospitality. Looking back to my childhood, it gives me great pleasure to remember how my good mother felt delighted whenever an astrologer could tell her that her son would be charitably disposed. Her daily life was a constant lesson to me in charity and hospitality. In my manhood, she was always proud of my public life and did everything she could to encourage me to spend as much in charity, as I liked. Besides being charitable and hospitable she was high-minded to a fault and could never brook an insult from any one high or low. She never begged favour of any body and was rather haughty in her resourcefulness. Quick of temper, she was given to use strong language in moments of anger and was ever ready with retorts and repartees. Although much of my personal character I have inherited from her, my obligations to my father are no less. It was he, who gave a religious as well as a literary bent to my mind and taught me my first lessons in patriotism. Lately he might

have perhaps thought, now and then, that I had exceeded his instructions and overstepped his expectations but all the same the seeds that have fructified were sown by his own hands. It was a matter of great satisfaction, therefore, to have learnt on my return from exile that in what was to him the greatest misfortune of his life, he maintained a strong, noble, manly and dignified attitude and never for a moment entertained any proposal which would have been as unworthy of his manhood, as of my faith in the righteousness of my cause. However, in my exile it was my constant care to cheer him up, by my letters, in reply to which I always received equally encouraging and loving communications from him. My letters to him used to be very brief, as my father not knowing the English language, I had to write to him in the venacular and I feared that long letters in the vernacular might be delayed by the Superintendent for translation. With every letter that I wrote to my father, I sent a transliteration of it in Roman character to the Superintendent, so that the letter may be posted without much delay. Twice or thrice I wrote long letters to him in English and posted them to my brother who translated them for my father. My father's letters to me were also brief but

they contained sufficient material to assure me that he was manfully doing his duty by my children and was bearing his misfortune with fortitude. I had, however, no means of knowing that besides looking after the family he had taken up his veteran's pen in my defence and was wielding the same with effect, to the utter discomfiture of the evil doers amongst my countrymen. I have learnt it with shame that an Indian Deputy Commissioner should have considered it necessary in the performance of his duties as a British Magistrate, to keep a regular and perfectly unwarrantable espionage upon the old man's movements, as if he was in any way responsible for my political creed and for any acts which I might have done. The old man, however, never flinched for a moment, and kept up his faith in my innocence, never giving way to despair in the poignancy of his grief at the absence of a son who had never let his filial love and respect take even the second place to his affections and regards.

Correspondence.

I wish I could publish all the letters that I wrote from Mandalay to my father, my sons, my brothers and my friends, but a large number of

them have been destroyed by those to whom they were addressed. An equally large number of others deal purely with private affairs which are not likely to be of any interest to the general reader. A few extracts from some of them will not, however, be out of place here, in showing the state of my mind when I was in confinement at Mandalay. The first of these, in point of time (out of those now available) is dated the 20th of May 1907 and addressed to a Banker friend. I propose to give long quotations from it to show how I felt at the time.

(Strictly Private) MANDALAY, UPPER BURMA,
20th May 1907.

MY DEAR——

I am writing this letter in English, as this has to be read by the Superintendent of jail. I am living in a separate house outside the jail and guarded day and night, otherwise I am fairly comfortable. * * * However now to business. Have you carried out my directions, with regard to the transfer of my accounts with your firm at Hissar, Delhi, Narnaund, Malerkotla and Lyallpur? If not, please do so at once and let me know that you have done so. Please to open a separate account in the name of Piyare Krishna * alone for fifteen thousand rupees only which I want to reserve for his education in Europe.

(*) My second son.

This account will be operated upon by my father and after him by Lalas Piyare Lal* and Ranpat Rai† jointly. The money from this account can only be drawn for the expenses of Piyare Krishna's education in Europe and for nothing else. If you have already made the necessary transfer of accounts, then you need not open this account separately but keep this letter as an authority to the effect that Rs. 15,000 out of my money will be reserved for giving a European education to Piyare Krishna. I am writing all this as a matter of precaution, otherwise I am quite hale and hearty and intend to live long.

Please do not write anything in your letters except a reply to the business portion of my letter and ordinary news of your and of other friends' health.

Yours Sincerely,
LAJPAT RAI.

The next in chronological order, of the letters available, is dated the 9th of June, addressed to my eldest son Piyare Lal. It contains instructions about private affairs and advises the transfer of certain Shares, which I owned, in favour of himself and his brothers. The following sentence from this letter might be of interest to show, that never for a moment

(*) My eldest son.
(+) My brother.

even, did I entirely forget the public institutions for which I had been working when free :

"Please also let me know the number of new admissions into our College."

The following is a quotation from a letter addressed to my eldest son and bearing date the 13th June, 1907.

MANDALAY,
Dated 13th June 1907.

MY DEAR PIYARE LAL,

* * * If you succeed in selling the Government Promissory Notes, invest the sale proceeds in a special fixed deposit, getting as good a rate of interest as may be possible. The amount is, with some more money to be specially reserved for Piyare Krishna's education in Europe. It is my earnest desire, God blessing, that he should receive a first class education and fit himself properly for the service of his country. So far as a parent can decide the future of his child, I have since long made up my mind that he will be our representative on the staff of our College and with that object in view he must receive a first class education, which with our limited means we can afford to give him. He must, however, mostly look after himself, being very particular about his health and character. I have the fullest confidence that he

will do nothing to belie the hopes of his loving father.

In sending the Magazines do not send those which deal wholly or mostly with my case, as the last *Indian Review* was. The latter was for that reason kept back. But you can send the Magazines from which articles dealing with my case can be removed without marring the use of the rest for purposes of study. The Urdu Magazines I want mostly for the poetical pieces therein. Where is Lala Jaswant Rai and how is he? * * * * *

I am
Yours affectionately,
LAJPAT RAI.

This is followed by a letter to a friend at Hissar, dated the 16th June 1907 :—

MANDALAY,
16th June 1907.

MY DEAR MASTER JI, (Master Sham Lal).

Many thanks for your very kind letter of the 7th instant, and the enquiry made therein. I do not propose to answer your questions categorically but I think the following information will satisfy your curiosity. I am living within the late King's fort, which is said to contain an area of about 7 miles. The house in which I live, is built almost wholly of wood, and is situated just opposite the Palaces of the late King. It is a two storied

house, each story being divided into two portions with a partition wall between. The lower story is occupied by the Police Guard and half of the upper is used by me. It is quite sufficient for my purposes. So far, I have been keeping fairly good health and the climate has not affected me injuriously. They have employed a Madrasi servant, who cooks my food in the English fashion. The servant lives in the compound of the Superintendent of Jail and comes to me four or five times a day. He brings my food, spreads my bedding &c. A barber comes and shaves me every other day. A *bhishti* supplies water. They have engaged a Dhobi and a sweeper. I can make no use of *ghee* here as I have no one to cook my food in the Indian fashion. I get milk here and so I do not want a cow. Thank you, all the same, for your kind offer. As for fruits, I can send for them from the bazar, whenever I like. There is a fair quantity of them to be had always. I do not want you to send me anything in the shape of eatables. As to how I pass my time, I go out for walks every morning and evening, in the company of a European Police officer and two constables within the fort. I can walk as much as I like. I spend from one to two hours a day upon my walks. I have received some religious literature from Lahore and ever since then, I have begun spending the whole of my mornings up to 10-30 or 11 A. M. in reading it. After breakfast I read various other books which I can get hold of. A friend from Rangoon has just sent me a number

of books. I am engaged in miscellaneous reading off and on, up to 6 P. M. when I go out for my evening walks. During this period, the Superintendent of Jail generally visits me. We have heavy rains just now and though the nights are now and then close and sultry, I manage to get a sufficient amount of sleep. My sleep, however, is as before, generally disturbed. I am not allowed to read any newspaper either Indian or English.

I have given you some idea of the manner in which I pass my days and I think this will satisfy you. Please to treat this as confidential as I do not wish that anything about my life in Mandalay should appear in the papers. Give my compliments to my friends, and ask them to forget me if they can.

Yours Sincerely,
LAJPAT RAI.

The next two letters are both of the 22nd June. One of them was addressed to the same friend at Hissar and runs as follows :—

MANDLAY,
22nd June 1907.

MY DEAR MASTER SHAM LAL.

I am writing this to you to read it to Lala Hari Lal. This is to remind him and his brother of their promise to find an occupation for Piyare Lal. Piyare Lal must now enter life and begin to make a living for himself and his family. This is very important and I hope Lala Hari Lal will attend to this at once. Please let me know what he proposes for him.

Ask him to write to Piyare Lal what he decides for him.

Yours etc.,
LAJPAT RAI.

The other is addressed to Piyare Lal himself and deals with the question of his future career. In the first portion of this letter I informed him of what I had written to Lala Hari Lal about him and then advised him what to do, in case he receives no offer from him within a fortnight. I wrote :

MANDALAY,
June 22nd, 1907.

MY DEAR PIYARE LAL,

* * * * * If you do not receive the offer within a fortnight you may join your uncle in his business. He has offered to go in parternership with you, in one of his letters. I am confident you and he will pull on very well, when you gain experience and know more of the world as well as of each other. There is nothing like understanding each other well and interfering with each other's business as little as may be possible. Readiness to forgive and forbear and being charitable towards each other is the only method to maintain good relations. Narrow-mindedness is mostly responsible for quarrels among us, Indians. To win other people's affection and regard, and to retain the same under strain and pressure is the greatest discipline to

which a young man or any man in the world can put himself.

I am glad you have managed to secure the services of Pundit Rikhi Raj, to teach your sister. I attach very great importance to it. I had made up my mind in this matter as soon as Jai Chand, (my son-in-law) died but I kept it to myself, with a view to let the freshness of sorrow disappear a little, before acting upon it. A good education will go a great way in softening the constant pang of widowhood for this unfortunate girl. Always keep her well supplied with good books, papers, and magazines, etc. After Jai Chand's death the idea had been constantly present to my mind and on the occasion of my last visit to Allahabad I made it a point to bring two or three good books for her. * * * * * * * *

I have been suffering from disorder of the liver and stomach this week, but there is nothing to be anxious about. Remember me to all friends and give love to children.

Yours affectionately,
LAJPAT RAI.

On the 19th of June, I wrote the following to a student at Allahabad, who had taken his B.A. degree from our College at Lahore and was then studying for the LL.B. degree at Allahabad.

MANDALAY,
June 19, 1907.

MY DEAR SUNDAR LAL.

Your touching letter to hand this morning. Thank you very much for the enquiry. I am quite well and happy but for the idea that I have been deprived of the privilege of serving my people. However, I am as hopeful as ever and sincerely believe that a Divine dispensation shapes our destinies and that every thing that happens is to our best.

You know I am a believer in *Karma* which is not necessarily the *fate* of our Mohammedan friends. It is very kind of you and other friends to think of me, but remember you will greatly disappoint me if you fail to pass the Examination this year. Remember me to all friends.

Please see Pandit Malviaji personally and give him my compliments. I am sometimes sorry to say that I should have displeased him by my last visit to Allahabad. I hope he has forgiven me. Whatever I did, I did with the best of intentions and I do not see any reason to repent for the same.

In a letter, dated the 5th of July, 1907 occurs the following sentence :—

"As for my health I have not been particularly happy during the last two weeks. My liver was out of order and the sleeping sickness too has been troubling me off and on. However, you need not be anxious."

On the 10th of July I wrote as follows :—

MY DEAR PIYARE LAL,

I am feeling somewhat better now. The weather here is very uncertain. It blows fearfully, rains rarely and keeps the climate quite changing and uncertain. However, I am taking every care of me and you need not be anxious. * * * * Please don't send the *Review of Reviews* in future as it is not allowed. No one should write to me except on business. People do not seem to have understood that no letter containing the slightest allusion to any political matter (including my arrest) is allowed.

Yours affectionately,
LAJPAT RAI.

In reply to the letter addressed by me to a friend at Hissar on the 22nd of June I received an assurance of his good will and readiness to help my son in finding out an occupation for him. The friend does not know English, and therefore, the reply for him was written by another gentleman who in perfect good faith but on his own behalf assured me of "the good will of the thoughtful men of the community towards my sons." The remark hurt me and elicited the following reply :—

MANDALAY,
July 14, 1907.

MY DEAR MASTER SHAM LAL.

Thanks for your letter and its contents. But I must beg your pardon if you expect me to be thankful to you for that portion of your letter in which you speak of the good will of the thoughtful men of the community towards my son. Now, this is a remark I must take exception to. I will hate my sons if I see them taking any advantage of this sentiment. I will see them earn their livelihood by their own exertions and without anybody's special help.

I have, it is true, asked Lala Chandu Lal to do something for Piyare Lal, because we had long ago settled a scheme about this. By my personal relations with Chandu Lal I have claims upon him, quite independent of the sentiment above referred to. You acted quite indiscreetly in showing that letter to others. Please do not take it ill. It was a purely private and personal communication and I will beg of you not to mention the matter to anyone else in future. My sons are fairly educated to earn their livelihood. Then they are all unmarried and can rough out a bit, if necessary, so I have no anxiety on their behalf at all. My mind is quite free on this subject. I have been writing about this as my separation from them was so sudden that I left everything unsettled. When you return to Hissar, please show this letter to Lala Hari Lal and Pandit Lakhpat Rai. Thanks, I am better.

Yours sincerely,
LAJPAT RAI.

On the 15th of July I wrote a letter in which I said :

What is the use of fretting about things which cannot be altered. It is best to take them with as good a grace as may be possible.

On the 27th of July 1907 I wrote to my son as follows :—

I have been keeping rather indifferent health but am better now. * * *

I do not wish to force my opinions upon you. The family affairs must be managed by you in consultation with your grandfather.

In a letter dated 4th August, 1907, I enquired about the business of my friends, Khazan Singh & Co.*

On the 9th of August, I wrote that I was doing fairly well except in the matter of sleep :

On the 11th I wrote about some family matters.

I do not want to interfere in any arrangement which she (*i.e.*, my wife) and you might make because it is no longer any concern of mine. I would leave every one free to do as he or she likes. As for your marriage the matter is entirely in the hands of your grandfather and I have no voice in it.

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* This refers to the Rawalpindi Lawyer accused, one of whom was S. Khazan Singh.

The letter was wound up with the following piece of advice :—

Do not develope a tendency to be very close-fisted and give them (*i. e.*, your brothers and sisters) what they want. Try to be comfortable and happy within your means and never forget the claims of charity.

On the 16th of August I remarked that "at present they do not seem inclined to let me have a servant from home, but I will try later on."

On the 20th of August I complained of not having heard from father for a long time, although I had been writing to him by every mail. I added that probably he could get no one to write letters for him in English. If so he could be told to write to me in Urdu.

A letter dated the 24th of August and several others before this dealt with the affairs of my daughter.

Before I wrote my next letter on the 27th of August, I received an intimation from the Superintendent of Jail that he had realized from the Post Office a money order of Rs. 50 sent to me by my brother under instructions from my father for giving away in charity. In acknowledging this I wrote to my son :—

Lala Ranpat Rai has sent me a money order

of Rs. 50 on behalf of father for small charities but this last has amused me. Am I in a position to dispense charity here? However, please convey my thanks to father. The amount has been added to my money with the Superintendent of Jail and I will get it when I want it. A portion of this money, *viz*-, about Rs. 25 was spent in charity, partly through the Superintendent of Jail and partly through the servant, with the knowledge and sanction of the former."

In a letter written to L. Sham Lal at Hissar on the 13th of August, I said that I was quite well and contented.

On the 21st of September I wrote to my son as follows:—

MY DEAR PIYARE LAL,

Yours of the 13th was duly to hand. Thanks, I am quite well except in the matter of disturbep sleeps which cannot be helped. The weather here is generally very hot from 12 in the day up to 12 in the night. After that it is generally cool. The mornings are very pleasant. It has of late been raining here almost daily. People say that the rainy season in this country continues up to the end of October. The other day I received another letter from Lala Chandu Lal explaining the delay that had taken place in doing anything for you. You see they are themselves in

trouble. Sometimes I think, that perhaps it would be better if you and your uncle were to work in partnership and live at the same station. You will be better able to help each other in times of need. However, as you are practically free now, you must decide it for yourself. I do not want to decide things for you. I hope father has come by this time. If so, give him my most affectionate Namaste. I have not written to him any card this week under the impression that he is with you. * * * I cannot impress upon you sufficiently the necessity of doing every thing in your power to please my father as he is now the last living link with the past.

Yours affectionately,

LAJPAT RAI.

P. S.—Please remember me to my friend Bhagat and his unless. I often mix the names of my friends in my prayers.

To the best of my memory the following is the only letter in which I displayed a tenderness of feelings, verging on weakness. I was sorry to have written that letter and had half a mind to destroy it before it passed my hands. Eventually, however, I decided to post it and I have no hesitation in reproducing it *verbatim*, except the concluding portion which refers to my youngest brother's

practice at the Bar and another trifling matter of no interest to the public.

MANDALAY,
Dated the 26th September, 1907.

DEAR FATHER,

In the hope that you have reached Lahore by this time, I am addressing this letter to your Lahore address.

Yours of the 13th was duly to hand. You want to know in what way I occupy my time and if I could not undertake an annotated edition of Gita in Urdu. As to the first the following is a fair sketch of my daily routine. My mornings are spent in prayers, religious readings, walk and general reading. I have done the first reading of Pandit Arya Muni's *Gita* and a great deal of Lala Gokal Chand's, 'Message of the Vedas.' I am now reading Pandit Raja Ram's *Yoga Darshan*; I have read about one half of it. Besides I read one or two poems from the *Zamana* every day. My afternoons I spend in reading books on History, Novels and other miscellaneous books. I have taken copious notes on the manners and customs of Burmese for a book in Urdu to be written and published after my release, if ever I am released. I have done some miscellaneous writing too. As for the second question, I intend to write an Essay in English, as well as in Urdu but I am afraid I cannot undertake an annotated translation of the book here. I do not pos-

sess books of reference. In short, reading is my principal occupation in these days. Thank God, that I can indulge in it freely, or else I do not know how could I pass my time. The afternoons and the nights are now very hot and sometimes it is hard to get any sleep. The mornings, however, are fairly cool. We have had very good rains during this month. Rains, they say, will continue off and on for another month. I am sorry that I should be unable to relieve you even partially, in the hard work you have before you, in arranging for the two marriages. I had looked forward to the marriage of Vidya and hoped to give her myself to her affianced but [the decrees of Providence are inscrutible. I hope Vidya's marriage will come on all right. You would then have taken a great load off your shoulders. I trust my son will do all in his power to help you and to please you. Now that you are at Lahore, will you please have all my books thoroughly dried. Of all I have, I value them the most. Please also see that Pyare Lal supplies everything that is necessary in the way of clothing &c., to dear Parbatti and her son. I remember her the most in my exile. Her picture is constantly present to my eyes. At times I feel that I committed a sin in giving her over to a man who was suspected of not possessing a robust health. Poor girl ! I feel for her very kindly and deeply. Please be very kind to her and give her my very best love. You will be doing a great favour to me by being as kind to her as you possibly can. If my tears

can relieve any part of her misery she has plenty of them. She is the only child of my soul for whom I have ever wept. My brothers will have amply repaid me for anything, that ever I did for them, if they are kind and considerate to my widowed daughter. It is my earnest desire that no amount of expenditure and trouble be spared to make up for the deficiency of her education and enable her to drown her misery in reading books. I feel as if I never discharged my duties to her properly. Please excuse for this rather extraordinary outburst of feeling but the news of the death of B. Tek Chand's brother-in-law opened my wounds afresh, and I have since yesterday, when I got his letter, been very sad; however now that I have written to you all that was in my mind, I will be all right again and you need have no anxiety.

* * * * * *

Yours affectionately,
LAJPAT RAI.

P. S.—"I wrote this letter at 8-30 A. M. Now it is 11-30 A. M. and I am quite happy, you need not feel sorry for me at all."

In reply I received an extremely reassuring letter from my father which put fresh spirits in me.

The following was written on the 3rd of

October :—

MANDALAY,
October 3, 1907.

MY DEAR MASTER SHAM LAL JI,

Yours as well as Lala Hari Lal's to hand * * * I am fairly well, though heartily sick of the solitary and the useless life that I have to lead. Yes, I shall thank you for any non-political news of my friends and acquaintances that you may send to me. I am getting a constant supply of books and Magazines from home, as my sole occupation is reading. We have had some very heavy showers here of late and I hope you also might have received something of the late monsoon. It will be a thousand pities if the crops again fail. The afternoons here are very close and so is the first half of night but the mornings are sufficiently cool. * * * * * * * L. Chura Mani will have the happiness of embracing his son very soon. Give him my best love when you meet him. He should be very diligent and careful in his profession. Please convey my love to Hari Kishen Datt; it pains me to think that I shall not be able to receive him as a bridegroom at my house when he goes there next month to marry my niece. However, I shall pray for them and ask the blessings of Heaven upon their union. Remember me to all my friends.

I remain,
Yours ever truly,
LAJPAT RAI.

In a letter dated 29th of October to my son I wrote :—

> It is my intention to write a few monographs on European History and its phases of civilization. I will like to begin with the earliest times. Will you please ask Babu Ji to recommend books which will give me the latest and up to date material for the same and send me a few of them for the present, if they are to be had at Lahore. Otherwise send me the list prepared by him * * * *
>
> Yours affectionately,
>
> LAJPAT RAI.

On the 9th of November, I again wrote to him to send me some winter suits requesting him at the same time to send £10 to a friend, then in England, to purchase some books for me, a list of which I had sent him direct.

The correspondence, particularly the last few letters, might leave an impression on the mind of the reader that I had no hope of being released so early. But this will be a wrong inference altogether. The fact is that from the very first I had thought that my confinement could not be a very long one. I knew that the Government had taken the step in a state of panic and in perfect

ignorance of the condition of the people. I was sure that they would soon find out their mistake and that the Parliamentary friends of India would not allow the Govt. to persist in this policy of persecution and high-handedness for long. My first impression was that my release would not possibly be effected earlier than the final conclusion of the Rawalpindi and Lahore riots trials and that if it is not delayed by any fresh disturbance, it was sure to come about soon after these cases had been finally disposed of by the Chief Court. It was, therefore, with great personal interest that I watched the progress of these cases. It was my belief that whatever efforts may be made at fabricating false evidence, at inventing stories of sedition, extorting false confessions, or implicating me in the disturbances that had taken place, nothing could be proved against me. Nobody knew better than myself, what I had done and what I had not. Everything I had done was done in the open, without any attempt at secrecy and I was always prepared to own it without the least hesitation. Although I knew full well that the corrupt Police of this country was capable of proving *anything* and *everything*, even things which had no existence whatsoever

yet the voice from within told me that truth must win in the end and that before long the authorities would begin to feel ashamed at the cruel hoax that had been played upon them by their subordinates. The acquittal of the Rawalpindi Lawyers was as much a certainty to my mind as the rise of the sun every morning. As soon, therefore, as I heard of their honourable discharge, I concluded that my release could not be far off.

Somehow or the other I associated the order of my release with the close of the summer session of the Government of India at Simla. I thought that before leaving Simla, the Government of India would reconsider my case and probably order my release. Consequently from the middle of October to the 9th of November I was always on the tiptoe of expectation. In the diary notes of the 24th and 25th October I find entries showing the anxiety of uncertainty and the consequent disinclination to do serious (literary) work. There are similar notes up to the 30th. The last entry says that the mind was disturbed by constant conflict between hope and fear. (*Ummed-e-Bim.*)

On the 2nd November there is an entry

to the effect that "Whatever hope there was, was disappearing, which distracted the mind very much." It was this uncertainty that was really annoying. On the 4th of November happened the unpleasent incident, a mention of which has already been made above. The saddening effect of the Superintendent of Jail's arrogance added to the sense of disappointment felt by the non-receipt of any news about release.

I heard that the Viceroy was to leave Simla on the 6th of November and that the last meeting of the Supreme Legislative Council was to be held on the 4th. This led me to infer that orders on my case will be passed by the 5th at the latest. Allowing four days for red-tape, I concluded that something might be heard by the 9th. On the 7th of November a ray of hope disclosed a silver lining on the horizon. On this date the Superintendent of Jail told me that the Government of India would no longer pay for clothing and shoes for me, and that I was at liberty to arrange for them on payment of my own money. He added that the clothes and shoes already ordered will have to be paid for by me. No sooner did he leave the place than

I told the European Sergeant on duty that the Superintendent's order was the precursor of liberty. The next day the Superintendent tried to explain his previous day's order by saying that there was confusion in accounts and that the same had been returned by the Comptroller General and that any sums paid by me towards the purchase of clothes and shoes might be repaid hereafter. I was not, however, taken in by this explanation and held high hopes of receiving the news of my release at any moment. I knew very well that the Government would not release me at Mandalay and would take me back to Lahore with the greatest possible secrecy in order to avoid all demonstrations of joy on the part of my countrymen *en route* or at Lahore. But when the evening of the 9th changed into night without any order, I felt greatly disappointed and vexed. I wrote to home for clothing as if I had no hope of my release. On the morning of the 11th I went for the last time to take a stroll in the Royal Gardens. The European Sergeant, who was on duty that morning, had never seen the Royal Palaces and I undertook to show over the same to him. We ascended the Royal *Minar* and had a look at Mandalay town and its buildings. On return, I wrote a

long letter to my son relating to his future life, portions of which I give below :—

MANDALAY.

Dated 11th November 1907.

DEAR PYARE LAL,

Yesterday evening I got yours of the 3rd and dear father's of the 31st October. From the latter, I learn that Lala Chandu Lal can find no employment for you this season. That means the delay of another year. I am writing the following in reply to both the above letters and you will, I trust, inform father of its contents. In my opinion you have three alternatives but before stating them I want to impress upon you the desirability of standing on your own legs. There is nothing like it in the world. Depending upon others, expecting favours, or obligations from others does not pay in the long run. My own sentiments are, to be under obligations to no one. A man who can earn his own living without any one's help, however humble that living may be, is the noblest person in my estimation. To earn a bare *dál roti* by your own exertions, independent of any one's favour or obligations, gives a moral strength which will stand by you the whole of your life. I do not really want you to put yourself under any obligation to any of my friends. I do not want any one to say that he helped my children out of regard for me. It was exactly for this reason that I deprecated

your accepting the Managership of the Khanna Factory. Any possible losses there would have been put to your inexperience and want of knowledge of commercial methods and that would have made me miserable for life. Once I had suffered a similar insult in the person of your uncle Mela Ram when he started life as a Manager of an Iron Factory jointly owned by me and my friends. * * * Now you have had a fairly good education to make an humble start in life and you have some money to invest. I would not mind even if you earn nothing in the first two years or if you suffer losses, provided you exhibit a determination to succeed. Fortunately for you, you have no vicious tastes and can live on little. You are going to marry a girl who has not been maintained in luxury and who will not feel ashamed to take charge of your house. That was one of my principal motives in selecting this girl for you. Under the circumstances I see no reason why you should not make a start on your own account, however humble or unpretentious it may be. * * * * * * *

A word as to myself. I have not been keeping very good health of late. Sleeplessness troubles me and sometimes constipation and neuralgic pains. But on the whole, I am doing well and there is no ground for any sort of anxiety for my health. It is getting cold here every day. I have asked you to send some clothes but you need be in no

hurry as I am going to purchase a pair of blankets and have already got some clothes as flannel shirts &c.

I left Mandalay the same day at 11-15 A. M.

Before I close this chapter I might be permitted to note that although occassionally I was very sad and melancholy during my exile, I was generally contented and made every effort to make the best use of my time. The following entry in my diary made on the 13th July will explain the general frame of my mind during this period :

13th July (Saturday).—Sorry ; have failed to enjoy peace of mind even at the time of and during prayer, and this in spite of all efforts to the contrary. Several times have I said to myself "God has granted you this opportunity for religious exercise, concentration of mind, study and literary work. Why should you not accept it with feelings of gratitude and setting aside all anxiety, care and ambition make the best use of the same. Your attachment to your children has never been so deep as to stand in the way of doing your duty. Why then should you allow yourself to be so much troubled by anxiety, care and sorrow. The treatment you have received is in no way

singular. Thousands of men and women have before this suffered even greater privations in the same path. Some of them were tortured and maltreated simply for teaching virtue, *e. g.* Socrates. Why this chicken-heartedness? Selfishness is the rule of the world. Every one supresses another for his good. The English do the same. They are not angels so as to be just and righteous. The world is always like that."

This self analysis is followed by a note recording the restoration of the peace of mind and a sense of satisfaction at the things as they were. On the 30th of July on the permission for long walks having been suspended I felt very much put out and recorded a note which takes a very despondent view of life. In this note I say that this condition of uncertainty and ignorance of what is likely to happen is very annoying.

Similarly on the 3rd of August it is noted that the Sergeant on duty told me the story of a man who in conditions similar to those of mine, lost the balance of his mind and became mad. In reply I told him that as far as possible I was determined to retain my sanity unless Providence willed it otherwise.

On the 4th of August it is noted that I had for some days been very regular in prayers and religious reading. "God be thanked thousands of times. I have been reciting Vedic hymns for the last two or three days, which make me feel very happy."

On the 13th of August I noted as follows:—

"I was uneasy on account of sickness but thoroughly contented. I am now getting accustomed to solitude and the latter is not so painful now as it used to be."

On the 24th of August, 2 days after an altercation with the Superintendent of Jail I thought of the Samaj (*i. e.* the Arya Samaj) and the College (*i. e.*, the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, Lahore) and at other times of other things. Sometimes these thoughts made me sad and sometimes filled me with hope."

The 15th of October, the day on which my friend Lala Jaswant Rai's period of incarceration was to terminate was a day for rejoicing for me. On that day I offered special prayers to God for his health.

I have already stated that the last fortnight of my confinement I passed in constant expectations of my release. My mind in those days was swayed by fear and hope alternately.

CHAPTER IX.

ODDS AND ENDS.

The Memorials.

Altogether I submitted two memorials protesting against my deportation and imprisonment and praying for my release. The first was handed over to the Superintendent of Jail on the 29th of June. A few days before this, I came to know that a question had been put in the Parliament enquiring from the Secretary of State for India if I had protested against my deportation and if so what was the substance of my protest. The conversation led me to think that my friends in the British Parliament probably wanted to know what I had to say against the Government's high handed action in deporting me without trial. Till then, I had not made up my mind on the question of petitioning for my release, although I had already applied for a copy of the Government of India's order relating to my arrest and also of the grounds on which it was based. In reply thereto, the Superintendent of Jail sup-

plied me with a copy of the Warrant of committal bearing date the 7th of May 1907, in pursuance of which I was arrested and deported in order to prevent "Commotion within the dominions of His Majesty the King Emperor of India." The copy of the Warrant supplied is reprinted below :—

"Home Department, India.

To the Superintendent of Jail, Mandalay.

Whereas the Governer-General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has seen fit to determine that Lajpat Rai, son of Radha Kishen shall be placed under personal restraint at Mandalay, you are hereby required and commanded in pursuance of that determination to receive the person above-named in your custody and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of Governor General in Council and the provisions of Regulation 3 of 1818.

By order of the Governor-General, in Council.

(Sd). H. H. RISLEY,

Secy. to the Govt. of India,

Home Department."

Dated the 7th May 1907.

I had, besides, asked permission of the authorities to let me have newspapers to read and while away my time with. This was refused by the Local authorities. I could not

possibly think of any reason why they should have deprived me of this, considering that I could not communicate with the outside world and attributing this refusal to the narrow mindedness of the Local Officers, I wrote a letter to the Superintendent of Jail asking him to ascertain if such were the wishes of the Government of India. He forwarded my query to the proper authorities and on the 22nd of June officially informed me that the matter had been determined upon by the highest authority and that no newspaper could be allowed to me. The want of newspapers was felt by me as the greatest deprivation, for I naturally wanted to know what was happening in my country. A few days before, I had received a copy of Regulation III of 1818 from home in compliance with a request made by me to that effect. The Superintendent of Jail did not hand over the copy of the Regulation sent by my son to me, until he had obtained due permission from the Government of Burma to that effect. On obtaining this permission he gave the copy to me on the 19th of June. I read the Regulation very carefully and could find nothing therein which justified the refusal to allow newspapers. I considered this to be

a great hardship and consequently decided to memorialise the Government of India on the subject as well as to enter a written protest against my arrest and deportation. Having arrived at this conclusion, I wrote down the draft of the Memorial the same day. Before making a fair copy of it I read it to the Superintendent of Jail and asked him if he had any objections to it. He advised me to strike out the portion about my ill health, as well as the request contained at the end of the Memorial but I did not agree to it. I regret I do not possess a true copy of this Memorial. On the 20th of July the Superintendent of Jail asked me for a copy, which was required by the Government of Burma, and I had to reproduce it from memory. I do it again for the information of my countrymen, so that they may know what I wrote to the Government. To the best of my memory the memorial printed below is a substantially faithfull reproduction of the original, except that a word here or a word there might be different.

To H. E. the Viceroy & Governor-General, of India.

SIMLA.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

That your petitioner is a State Prisoner confined in Fort Dufferin, at Mandalay, Burma; that he

was arrested at Lahore and deported therefrom on the 9th of May 1907 in pursuance of a warrant issued under the authority of Your Excellency in Council, in accordance with the provisions of Regulation III of 1818 and bearing the date of 7th May 1907 ;

That neither at the time of his arrest, nor subsequently, was your petitioner informed of the charge or charges against him on the basis of which action was taken against him under the said Regulation ;

That your petitioner is not conscious of having done, or having attempted to do, any thing which could make the Regulation applicable to his case ;

That your petitioner respectfully but emphatically denies that at the time of his arrest, or immediately before or after it, there was any resonable apprehension of any "commotion" taking place in any part of the dominions of His Majesty, the King Emperor of India ;

That your petitioner very respectfully but very emphatically denies ever having done or attempted to do any thing which was likely to cause "commotion" in the Indian dominions of His Majesty the King Emperor or which could otherwise justify the application of Regulation III of 1818 to him ;

That your petitioner believes that he has been the victim of false information given against him

by his enemies and of the biased reports of misinformed officials based upon misunderstandings and misapprehensions on their part ;

That your petitioner respectfully prays that he may be informed of the grounds on which action against him has been taken under Regulation III of 1818, so that he may be in a position to reply to or explain the same, at least, for the consideration of Your Excellency in Council ;

That your petitioner has always been a peaceful worker, devoting most of his time in furthering the cause of education amongst his countrymen, organizing and distributing charity for the relief of orphans, widows and other famine-stricken people in time of famine and in organizing relief to the sufferers from the great earthquake in the Kangra Valley in the year 1905 ;

That he worked as a Municipal Commissioner for a period of three years and has been practising as a lawyer for about 25 years ;

That never in his public life extending over a period of 25 years has he ever been suspected or known to do any thing which was likely to cause "commotion" in the dominions of His Majesty the King Emperor or to do any other act which would justify the application of Regulation III of 1818 to him ;

That your petitioner is a constant sufferer from enlargement of the liver and diseases of the

stomach; that he suffers from sleeplessness also, that in case of doubt, the facts may be ascertained by reference to his Medical attendants at Lahore. That his prolonged confinement in a strange land and a strange climate and under conditions of restraint without sufficient opportunities of exercise is likely to tell heavily on his health;

That he prays that if his immediate release cannot be ordered he may be informed of the grounds on which action has been taken against him and his petition may be forwarded to His Majesty the King Emperor of India. The petitioner further prays that in the meantime, pending consideration of his petition, he may be permitted;

(*a*) to read Indian and English newspapers, as being deprived of the right of reading them, he feels extremely lonely;

(*b*) to send for a servant of his own from home to attend upon him;

That the petitioner shall further deem it a favour if he can be informed of the probable duration of the period of his confinement; for which your petitioner shall, as in duty bound, feel grateful and pray &c.

Your Excellency's humble petitioner,

LAJPAT RAI OF LAHORE.

FORT DUFFERIN, MANDALAY.

Dated 20th June 1907.

From the copy of the Regulation received for me, the Superintendent of Jail came to know that the law required him to submit a report about me to the Government of India on the 1st of July. He asked me if I wanted him to recommend me for any privileges. I told him that I shall like to be permitted to take drives out of Fort; to have the Police vigilance reduced a little and also to be allowed to see my friends. He said he would see what he could do for me. The Regulation lays down that "every officer in whose custody a State Prisoner may be placed was to submit a report to the Governor-General in Council through the Secretary to Government in the Political Department on the conduct, the health and the comfort of such State Prisoner." Consequently the Superintendent of Jail submitted my memorial and his report thereupon to the Government of India direct. On the 6th of August he read to me the orders of Government of India, on my petition, which were altogether unfavourable. I asked for a copy of Government of India's orders and was supplied with a slip containing the following Memorandum of the Government's decision which is here reproduced *verbatim* :—

"Government of India decided that you can-

not go for drives beyond Fort Dufferin"

"Nor reduce police vigilance (terms of request vague.")

"Regarding desire to be informed of charges against you, Government of India direct that no more particulars can be given beyond the reasons already given. (The only reason given was that I was deported in order "to avoid commotion within the dominions of His Majesty, the King Emperor of India".) You must submit your memorial to the King through the local Government.

"Can't have your own servants nor newspapers, (already refused.)

"Nor any information regarding duration of confinement."

"No strong objection to your seeing your relatives but meetings and individuals to be restricted and only with permission of the Punjab Government."

Of course, I was quite prepared for such a reply. The only point on which I had any hope, was the request as to newspapers. For drives I did not care much. But I was greatly amused at the directions given to me about the despatch of my petition to His

Majesty the King and at the decision of the Government of India, refusing to forward it to His Majesty as it had not been received through the proper channel. I thought it was extremely ludicrous to say to a prisoner who had been refused all access to legal or other advice that a petition handed over by him to the Superintendent of Jail, the only person to whom he could do so, had not been sent through the proper channel. To me it appeared that the Government considered the matter too ugly to send it to the King at that stage and hence this pretence to cause a delay. It was certainly absurd on the face of it to be told to send my petition through the local Government as it was the business of the Superintendent of Jail to find out the proper channel for such petition and if on account of his ignorance of the rules he did not do it it was preposterous to hold the prisoner responsible for it. I was so much disgusted with this reply that I resolved to send no more Memorials. I have never had any faith in petitioning. I knew well that His Majesty being a constitutional monarch was not likely to interefere in the Government of India's action which had received the seal of approval from a states-

man of Mr. John Morley's political principles. My only reason for asking my petition to be laid before the King was just to let him know the heartlessness of his Government in India in refusing newspapers to a Political prisoner of my position and education. This evasive red-tape reply convinced me that the Government of India did not want my case to go before His Majesty at that early stage. They were yet trying to fish out some evidence against me. The accused in the Riot cases at Lahore and Rawalpindi were being pressed and in some cases, tortured to implicate me in those disturbances and the Goverament of India evidently hoped to get something substantial against me. Indulging in these thoughts, I decided to drop the idea of sending a fresh petition to the King *through the proper channel*, though the Superintendent of Jail reminded me of it several times. I replied that there was no hurry and that I would take my time. Knowing a bit of history as I did, I despaired of getting any justice or fairplay from despots and resolved to settle down in the life of bondage to which I had been doomed by the latter's verdict. I thought that it was sufficient that I had on

tered a written protest and a denial to the general charge against me. In September, however, I happened to read in an English Magazine, which had been passed on to me by the Superintendent, that one of the charges against me was that of having attempted to tamper with the loyalty of the Native Army. I considered it to be a gross libel on my intelligence and good sense and thought that I was in duty bound to enter a protest against it. Consequently I drafted another memorial addressed this time to the Secretary of State for India. The Memorial ran as follows :—

To

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE,

The Secretary of State for India,

London.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

That your petitioner is a State Prisoner confined in the Fort at Mandalay, Burma ;

That he was arrested at Lahore and deported to this place in pursuance to a warrant of committal bearing the date, 7th of May 1907, and issued under the authority of H's Excellency the Governor-General of India in Council, under Regulation III of 1818 ;

That neither at the time of his arrest nor afterwards, has your petitioner been informed of the

charge or charges on the basis of which action has been taken against him under the aforesaid Regulation;

"That your petitioner has already in his petition addressed to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India submitted that he had done nothing which could justify the application of the aforesaid Regulation to him;

"That he had never done nor attempted to do anything which caused or was likely to cause commotion in the dominions of His Majesty the King-Emperor of India; That in fact there was no reasonable apprehension of any such "commotion" taking place at the time of petitioner's arrest;

"That your petitioner has been a victim of false information given by his enemies or of the biased reports of misinformed or prejudiced Government officials; and that if informed of the grounds of his deportation, he would be able to explain the same to the satisfaction of Your Excellency;

"That your petitioner being kept in entire ignorance of the allegations against him is not in a position to make a more definite statement or to point out proofs of his innocence;

"That newspapers having been steadily disallowed to him, your petitioner is not even in a position to explain away or refute the "supposed grounds" of the Government of India's decision against him; that he, however, takes the liberty of respectfully

repeating that the action of the Government of India in applying Regulation III of 1818 to him was quite unjustified and uncalled for; that there was no occasion for it, and that the Regulation was never meant for times of settled administration and for persons of your petitioner's humble position in life;

"That your petitioner further begs to submit that he took no part in the Lahore or Rawalpindi Riots; that he did not directly or indirectly encourage any person to bring about the same; that he did not make any seditious speeches; that he was always within the bounds of Law and the Constitution in expressing his disapproval of certain measures of the Government which were at the time of and immediately before his arrest exercising the public mind; that he never advocated any violent or illegal methods of redress; nor did he associate himself with any people who, to his knowledge, advocated such measures; that the suspicion, if entertained against him, of having tampered with the loyalty of the Native Soldiers of His Majesty's Army, is entirely deviod of any foundation, your petitioner having had no opportunities whatsoever of mixing or communicating with the same.

"That the petitioner respectfully begs to add that in depriving him of his personal liberty without ever informing him of the grounds thereof; in condemning him unheard and undefended; in acting on information given behind his back, and in refus-

ing him access to legal advice, the Government of India have on this occasion failed to act in accordance with those principles of justice and fairplay which are generally believed to be characteristic of British Administration.

"That the petitioner has reason to think that the Regulation which has been enforced against him is an unconstitutional act of the late East India Company, beyond the powers granted to them by their Charter; that being opposed to the letter and spirit of the British Constitution and British Laws it is *ultra vires*; That it has never been approved of or sanctioned by the British Parliament. That the provisions of the said Regulation giving permanent powers for all times to come to the executive Government to deprive British Subjects of personal liberty without a proper trial by a Court of Justice are opposed to all notions of natural justice and Government by Law.

That the petitioner very respectfully begs to point out that the "personal restraint" mentioned by the Regulation could not have contemplated more than what was absolutely necessary for the object stated in the preamble; that the Regulation ostensibly aimed at prevention and not at the punishment of a man who has had no trial;

That looked at in this light the decision of the Government of India in disallowing newspapers and refusing to let the petitioner have a private servant of his own or a cook of his nationality are hardly just and

necessary; nor can there be any justification for not allowing him to see any of his friends at all and in laying down that only such relatives can be permitted to see him as have received the previous sanction of the Government of the Punjab to that effect and that only in the presence and immediate hearing of an official.

"That the said restrictions are opposed to the practice observed in Great Britain for the treatment of Political prisoners or persons confined under special acts of Parliament without a trial;

"That your petitioner is a married man having a wife and several children (including a young widowed daughter and her baby) to protect, educate and support.

That in any case there can be no justification for his confinement continuing after the supposed apprehension of "Commotion" has ceased to exist;

"That your petitioner very earnestly hopes for that justice and fairplay for which the British Nation and their Government are renowned and that they will order the petitioner's release with permission to return to his home and resume his ordinary vocation in life;

"That, lastly, in case His Majesty's Government find it impossible to order the *unconditional* release of the petitioner and his restoration to his family, they may graciously be pleased to permit him to leave India for such time as they may in that behalf

choose to fix, with liberty to reside in Great Britain or any other country on the continents of Europe or America, for which act of justice, the petitioner shall as in duty bound pray, &c.

Mandalay : Your Excellency's humble servant,

Fort Dufferin, LAJPAT RAI OF LAHORE.

22nd of September 1907.

Of course I never received any reply to this Memorial, unless the order of my contemplated release at Lahore, communicated to me by the Commissioner of Mandalay on the 11th of November, be considered as a reply to the said Memorial. The argument that Regulation III of 1818 was an unconstitutional act of the late East India Company was suggested to me by the perusal of a short history of the East India Company known as "Ledger and Sword" which I was reading in those days.

I may state here, once for all, that no undertaking of any kind was required of me nor was any given by me about my future behaviour, nor were any conditions imposed on my release. In fact, no other communication passed between me and the Government

of India either in writing or by word of mouth but what has been stated above, with the sole exception of the warning that was given to me by the Commissioner of Mandalay on the 11th of November when communicating the orders of the Government as to my intended release at Lahore.

A Few Touching Incidents.

I have already stated more than once that while at Mandalay I was the constant recipient of touching marks of sympathy and regard from my countrymen there. Of course they were not allowed to talk to me nor to communicate with me and all letters containing any messages of sympathy, &c., were suppressed. Active steps were taken to prevent their frequenting those roads that regulated the approaches to the house wherein I was confined. Some of them were actually harassed and subjected to uncalled for insults and humiliations but all the same they found it impossible to completely stifle human nature, and love found its own language to convey its message to the object of its regard. I will relate here a few touching incidents that I observed and which will illustrate what I mean.

1. I was walking on one of the roads one day when it began to drizzle. I had no umbrella or a waterproof with me. An old Panjabee Sikh employed somewhere there as a domestic servant or as a Chaprasi happened to pass by. He had an umbrella with him. On seeing me he at once slackened his speed and coming near me, boldly offered his umbrella which was, of course, thankfullydeclined.

2. One day at about 10 A. M. I was reading in the Verandah of the second story when on standing up I accidentally saw an Indian carrying a bundle of firewood on his head stopping in front of the Eastern Gate of the compound. He put the bundle of firewood on the ground and untied his turban from which he took a couple of beautiful lotus flowers. Evidently he had brought them for me and wanted to offer the same to me. Finding no one near that gate, he tied his turban, lifted his bundle of firewood and carrying the flowers in one of his hands approached the western gate where a sentry was on duty. He asked the latter to give those flowers to me but the sentry declined to do so and drove him away. Going a few steps forward he

took his stand under a tree and began to look at me. Of course I could read love and regard in his eyes; then he put the flowers on the stem of the tree, folded his hands by way of *Namaskar* to me and went away. A little later I sent the Madrasi cook and obtained the flowers. To me the flowers were the symbol of my countrymen's love for me.

3. On another day it was raining very heavily and I noticed that two well-dressed Bohra Muhammadans were struggling on in the rain with their eyes lifted towards the verandah of my house. Both of them appeared to be wealthy merchants of the Bombay side and had golden chains hung from their watch pockets. As soon as they saw me, they lifted their hands to the forehead and returned by the route they had taken. This was by no means a solitary instance.

4. It was a daily sight to see people driving in carriages by my house with their eyes lifted to the verandah eagerly seeking for me. As a rule, they drove slowly when in front of the house. They kept up looking at the verandah for a long distance, and would not drive fast until I was quite out of sight.

5. Panjabee ladies too would now and then come to have a look at me.

6. The cow-herds (rustic lads) were twice or thrice heard singing songs referring to my deportation. And so on.

A Bengali Assistant Surgeon and the Civil Surgeon.

The day the Civil Surgeon examined my eye-sight at the General Hospital he introduced me to his Bengali Assistant and asked him if he shared my political views. In a tone of ridicule he said, "Lajpat Rai wants representative Government and vote. What do you say to it." The Bengali gentleman said he had not studied politics and could give no opinion. I asked him if he was not in favour of his countrymen having a voice in levying and spending taxes raised from the people which we at present had not, to which he promptly replied in the affirmative. The Civil Surgeon felt very small, and began to say that it was not possible to have such a thing as popular representative Government in India, as the country was inhabited by so many races professing diverse faiths and speaking different languages. Addressing his Bengali Assistant he wanted to emphasize his remarks by saying that there was nothing

common between me and him, which I at once repudiated. I remarked that both of us belonged to the same race, professed the same religion, and spoke languages which had a common origin. Then a little discussion ensued in which my Bengali countryman took my side and the Englishman found, probably to his utter discomfiture, that there was nothing to choose between the Bengali and the Panjabee even though the former was a servant of the Government.

Sardar Ajit Singh.

I was supposed not to know that Sardar Ajit Singh was also at Mandalay, although as a matter of fact I came to know of it the very day he reached there. It was also known to me, that he was being searched for. The very next day after Sardar Ajit Singh's arrival the Superintendent excluded the Eastern side of the Fort from the range of my walks and I at once understood the reason thereof. Then he took some books out of those that my friend Mr. Madanjit had sent from Rangoon for me saying that they were wanted for a friend and would be returned when done with. Two of these, however, he (Superintendent) never returned. He gave back the others

and said they were all that he had taken. I say this only to point out how short a memory he had. Another day while leaving the house after the usual daily visit, he shouted out from below "Ajit Singh, Ajit Singh" instead of me. Of course, he corrected himself immediately, called me downstairs and told me that the Government would not allow any communication between me and my legal adviser, and that he had mislaid the letter I had addressed to my lawyer and could not find it. I told him that he had already informed me of the orders of the Government in the matter and had also returned the letter. He still insisted that he had not. I had the letter with me at Surat in the Christmas of 1907 where I had gone to attend the meeting of the Indian National Congress.) Shortly after this, a Sergeant asked me, if I knew where Ajit Singh was. I said I was not supposed to know it and that he knew it better than I did. He smiled and then told me that Ajit Singh also was confined in the same Fort in a house located near the Eastern Gate. A few days after, I saw Sardar Ajit Singh from a distance walking with a European Sergeant by his side. After this I heard the police talk-

ing freely of Sardar Ajit Singh and of the

events that occasionally happened at his house when they were on guard there; though the higher officers still pretended to believe that I had no knowledge of Sardar Ajit Singh's presence at Mandalay.

Return and Release.

At 10-15 A. M. on the 11th November 1907 the Commissioner of the Mandalay Division accompanied by the Superintendent of Police and Deputy Superintendent of Police came to the Bungalow in which I resided. The Commissioner took me apart and said that I was going to be released, but would be conveyed home under escort to Lahore and set free there. In the meantime I should not attempt any communication by telegram or otherwise with my friends or others. To this, the Commissioner added a warning on behalf of the Viceroy that in case I was again found doing any thing seditious, I would be arrested and immediately deported. The only reply that I gave him was that I understood it.

The Commissioner told me that a train was ready for me and the time fixed for its departure was 10-45 A. M. and that I should lose

no time in packing up my things. Having said so, the Commissioner left the Bungalow and with the assistance of the Police I packed up my luggage in less than half an hour. The Superintendent of Police accompained me to the Railway Station where on a siding a special train was ready to start and some European Officers were standing. The only one of the latter known to me was the Superintendent of Jail. He shook hands with me and to the best of my memory the following conversation took place between him and me :—

Superintendent—I suppose you are glad to get out so soon.

I.—Of course, I am.

S.—Now don't you be fooling yourself again, pricking your head against thorns (I am not certain whether he used the word thorns or any other).

I.—I never did.

S.—Very well, don't do it now.

I.—Thanks for your advice.

S.—I am awfully glad to get rid of you and wish you well.

I.—Thanks.

The Superintendent of Police, then, gave me a cordial shake of hands and I got into the train which whistled off immediately. A First Class compartment was reserved for me and the Deputy Superintendent of Police who was escorting me. In the yard I noticed a sergeant, who I knew was on duty that day with Sardar Ajit Singh. I concluded that S. Ajit Singh also was in the same train and enquired of the Deputy Superintendent of Police if it was so. He did not give a straight reply, saying that he might be following me in another train. I learnt, however, before the sun went down that Sardar Ajit Singh was in a Second Class compartment in the same train with a European Inspector of Police and a European Sergeant as his escort. Besides the officers twelve native constables formed the escort. The Deputy Superintendent of Police made all arrangements for our food and was generally courteous.

The train stopped at several important stations in the way for line clear, water and for refreshments. On several stations crowds gathered in the yards evidently knowing full well who were in the train though every effort had been made to

keep it a secret and at every place where the train halted the shutters were put up.

At 5-10 A.M., on the 12th of November the train reached Poozoundaung, a suburban station of Rangoon where I was taken down and put in a hackney carriage. All the windows were closed except one. Shortly after, the Commissioner of Rangoon Police came and caused even that window to be closed. One European Sergeant was on duty in that carriage. Thus we drove to the same jetty where I had landed six months before on my way to Mandalay. When all the luggage had been removed to a steam launch, the Commissioner of Police rather haughtily and without the least consideration for my comfort ordered me to go down the hold where rigging, &c., of the steam launch were stored. This was a terrible suffocating hold, with hardly standing accommodation for two of us, *i.e.*, myself and a European Sergeant. Sardar Ajit Singh was given a place on the deck of the launch. It took them 15 minutes to reach alongside S.S. *Guide* during which time I was freely perspiring. After every thing had been removed and Sardar Ajit Singh taken on board, I was asked to leave the

hold and follow. On board the Steamer I and Sardar Ajit Singh were asked to stand at two different corners pending cabin accommodation being arranged. Shortly after a cabin was placed at my disposal and two others were occupied by the European Inspector and the European Sergeant. Sardar Ajit Singh was assigned a place on the deck. The *Guide* left Rangoon at 7-10 A. M. on the 12th. For the first two days the sea was rather rough, but on the third it was pleasant. The officers of the ship were generally courteous, one of them, Mr. Cooper, Additional Chief, being particularly kind. On the 15th at about 3 P. M. the *Guide* came in sight of a pilot brig, the *Fraser* and an order from the captain of the ship was communicated to me to stick to my cabin, as the steamer was to be anchored alongside the pilot brig. Sardar Ajit Singh was told off into the hold the same time.

Some communication passed between the two Captains (of the S. S. *Guide* and the *Fraser*) which took about half an hour. After that the anchor was raised, and then at about 7 P. M. the Steamship *Guide* entered the mouth of the Hooghly and

anchored opposite the Saugor Light House for the night. Early next morning at 5-30 the anchor was raised. At about 8-30 A. M the steamer passed Diamond Harbour, and at 10-0 A. M. she again anchored at Raipur, some 25 or 30 miles from Calcutta. There the party stopped till 4-30 P. M. when the anchor was raised and the Steamer was once more moving towards Calcutta. We landed near Budge Budge about sunset. Once again I was on Indian soil. A special train was in readiness on a siding of the Bengal Nagpur Railway. Inspector Mathews of the Bengal Police joined us while landing. A First Class carriage was allowed to me and my guards, the two European Inspectors, and a second class carriage was given to Sardar Ajit Singh. Mr. Clark, the Traffic Manager of the Bengal Nagpur Railway, was also in the train and so was the Assistant Traffic Manager. Mr. Clark provided dinner to me in his (Mr. Clark's) own saloon and was very courteous and kind. At noon on the next day, the 16th November, the train reached Bilaspur (C. P.) on the Bengal Nagpur Railway, from where it took a branch line to Katni. All this day we had to live on tinned food, though Mr. Clark did every-

thing he could to give us plenty and make us comfortable. Early next morning we found ourselves at Bina on the G. I. P. Railway, from where we travelled *via* Jhansi to Delhi. The arrangements for food, &c., were excellent. From Delhi we travelled on the Southern Punjab Railway to Lahore *via* Bhatinda. The train was running under a false name and particular care was taken to keep the platforms clear of Indians so long as train stopped.

During the whole of this journey, which took 7 days, Sardar Ajit Singh and myself were kept quite separate, and on the Railway journey the shutters of the windows were kept generally closed and at times attempts were made for secrecy which were simply ludicrous and excited laughter. Otherwise the behaviour of the officers in charge was all that could be desired. No newspapers were allowed except the issue of the *Times* Weekly, dated the 13th November, and a copy of *Fry's Magazine*. The train reached Mian Mir West (Lahore Cantonment) railway station at 5-30 A. M. on the 18th instant, immediately after which myself and Sardar Ajit Singh were taken to a saloon

where Major C. H. Bensley, the Superintendent of Lahore Central Jail, read us first, the warrant of transfer from Mandalay Jail to Lahore Jail and then the writ of release. This over, a landau was placed at my disposal and a tum-tum for luggage. Every assistance was given in the removal of the luggage. Mr. Rundle, the Superintendent of Police, Lahore District, drove in front of me in his tandem and left after I had entered the compound of my Bungalow.

Thus after an absence of six months and nine days I returned home.

The liberality with which stores were supplied on the return journey contrasted strangely with the efforts at economy made by the Superintendent of Mandalay Jail. I hope no conclusion will be drawn from the bill which the Government must have paid for things supplied in this journey about my eating and drinking propensities, because a large number of costly articles supplied were not even touched by me. I could not help thinking, however, that in no self-governed country could the Government dare commit such waste of public money as was involved in the running of the Special Trains and Special Steamers and preserving

so much unnecessary secrecy. The whole thing looked melo-dramatic and was a touching commentary upon the methods of an alien Government, not in touch with the people of the country governed.

APPENDIX A.

REGULATION III OF 1818.

A REGULATION FOR THE CONFINEMENT OF STATE PRISONERS.

(PASSED ON THE 7TH APRIL 1818).

Preamble.

1. Whereas reasons of State, embracing the due maintenance of the alliances formed by the British Government with foreign Powers, the preservation of tranquility in the territories of native princes entitled to its protection, and the security of the British dominions from foreign hostility and from internal commotion, occasionally render it necessary to place under personal restraint individuals against whom there may not be sufficient ground to institute any judicial proceedings, or when such proceeding may not be adapted to the nature of the case, or may for other reasons be inadvisable or improper; and whereas it is fit that, in every case of the nature herein referred to, the determination to be taken should proceed immediately from the authority of the Governor-General in Council; and whereas the ends of the justice require that, when it may be determined that any person shall be placed under personal restraint, otherwise than in pursuance of some judicial proceeding, the grounds of such determination should from time to time come under revision, and the person affected thereby should at all times be allowed freely to bring to the notice of the Governor-General in Council all circumstances relating either to *he supposed grounds* of such determination, or to the

manner in which it may be executed; and whereas the ends of justice also require that due attention be paid to the health of every State prisoner confined under this Regulation, and that suitable provision be made for his support according to his rank in life, and to his own wants *and those of his family;* and whereas the reasons above declared sometimes render it necessary that the estates and lands of zemindars, talookdars and others situated within the territories dependent on the presidency of Fort William, should be attached and placed under the temporary management of the revenue authorities, without having recourse to any judicial proceeding; and whereas it is desirable to make such legal provisions as may secure from injury the just rights and interests of individuals whose estates may be so attached under the direct authority of the Government; the Vice-President in Council has enacted the following rules, which are to take effect throughout the Provinces immediately subject to the presidency of Fort William, from the date on which they may be promulgated.

2.—*First.*—When the reasons stated in the preamble of this Regulation may seem to the Governor-General in Council to require that an individual should be placed under personal restraint, without any immediate view to ulterior proceedings of a judicial nature, a warrant of commitment under the authority of the Governor-General in Council and under the hand of the Chief Secretary or of one of the Secretaries to Government, shall be issued to the officer in whose custody such person is to be placed.

Second.—The warrant of the commitment shall be in the following form:—

To the (here insert the officer's designation.)

"Whereas the Governor-General in Council for good and sufficient reasons, has seen fit to de-

termine that (here insert the State prisoner's name) shall be placed under personal restraint at (here insert the name of the place), you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above-named into your custody and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor-General in Council, and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

"Fort William the

"By order of the Governor-General in Council,

"A. B., Chief Secy. to Govt."

Third.—The warrant of commitment shall be sufficient authority for the detention of any State prisoner in any fortress, jail, or other place within the territories subject to the presidency of Fort William.

3. Every Officer in whose custody any State prisoner may be placed shall, on the 1st of July of each year, submit a report to the Governor-General in Council, through the Secretary to Government in the Political Department, on the conduct, the health, and the comfort of such State prisoner, in order that the Governor-General in Council may determine whether orders for his detention shall continue in force or shall be modified.

4. *First.*—When any State prisoner is in the custody of a Zillah Magistrate, the Judges are to visit such State prisoner on the occasion of the periodical sessions, and they are to issue any orders concerning the treatment of the State prisoner which may appear to them advisable, provided they be not inconsistent with the orders of the Governor-General in Council issued on that head.

Second.—When any State prisoner is placed in custody of any public officer not being a Zillah

Magistrate, the Governor-General in Council will instruct either the Zillah Magistrate or the Judges or any other public officer, not being the person in whose custody the prisoner may be placed, to visit such prisoner at stated periods, and to submit a report to Government regarding the health and treatment of such prisoner.

5. The Officer in whose custody any State prisoner may be placed, is to forward, with such observations as may appear necessary, every representation which such State prisoner may from time to time be desirous of submitting to the Governor-General in Council.

6. Every officer in whose custody any State prisoner may be placed shall, as soon after taking such prisoner into his custody as may be practicable, report to the Governor-General in Council, whether the degree of confinement to which he may be subjected appears liable to injure his health, and whether the allowance fixed for his support be adequate to the supply of his wants and those of his family, according to their rank in life.

Every officer in whose custody any State prisoner may be placed, shall take care that allowance fixed for the support of such State prisoner is duly appropriated to that object.

8. *Repealed by Act XVI of 1874.*

9. Whenever the Governor-General in Council, for the reasons declared in the preamble to this regulation shall judge it necessary to attach the estates or lands of any *zemindar*, *jageerdar*, *talookdar*, or other person without any previous decision of a Court of Justice, or other judicial proceeding, the grounds on which the resolution of Government may have been adopted, and such

other information connected with the case as may appear essential, shall be communicated, under the hand of one of the Secretaries to Government, to the Judge and Magistrate of the district in which the land or estates may be situated and to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut and Nizamut Adawlut.

10. *First*.—The lands or estates which may be so temporarily attached shall be held under the management of the officer of Government in the Revenue Department, and collections shall be made and adjusted on the same principles as those of other estates held under *khas* management.

Second.—Such land or estates shall not be liable to be sold in execution of decrees of Civil Courts or for the realisation of fines or otherwise during the period in which they may be so held under attachment.

Third.—In the cases mentioned in the preceding clause, the Government will make such arrangement as may be fair and equitable for the satisfaction of the decrees of the Civil Courts.

11. Whenever the Governor-General in Council shall be of opinion that the circumstances which rendered the attachment of such estate necessary have ceased to operate and that the management of the estate can be committed to the hands of the proprietor without public hazard or inconvenience, the revenue authorities will be directed to release the estate from attachment, to adjust the accounts of the collections, during the period in which they have been superintended by the officers of Government, and to pay over to the proprietor the profits from the estate, which may have accumulated during the attachment.

APPENDIX B.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE PANJAB.

(The following lines were handed over to us a few hours before the writer's arrest, when yet he had not the slightest idea of the doom in store for him. The interest of the observations is enhanced by the circumstances under which they were written, and they bear proof to the candour, straightforwardness and earnestness of the writer and his close study of public questions—Ed. *Panjabee.*) :—

Causes of Discontent in the Panjab.

Some people think that the situation in the Panjab has become very serious. The panic in official circles resulting in the arrest of 5 respectable citizens of Rawalpindi, no doubt, justifies that view. In my opinion, however, this panic has been artificially created by the Secret Police and the Government has simply played into the hands of its own agents. It is silly to reproach this or that man for having brought about this state of things. To suggest that any one or any two or three men in this province possess the power or influence to bring about this state of things is both stupid and absurd. It may be highly flattering to their vanity and in a sense complimentary also, but it cannot stand the test of close examination on the basis of actual facts. Discontent, no doubt, there is and a great deal of it. But this discontent has been brought about by Anglo-Indians themselves and the causes of these may be thus summarised in

chronological order:

(*a*). The letters and articles, &c., that appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette* some time in July and August last year under the heading "Signs of the Times," &c.

(*b*). The prosecution of the *Panjabee*, coupled with the refusal of the Government to take similar action against the *C. & M. Gazette*.

(*c*). The Colonization Bill.

(*d*). The Land Alienation Act Amendment Bill.

(*e*). The increase of Canal rates on the Bari-Doab Canal.

(*f*). The abnormal increase of Land Revenue in the Rawalpindi District.

(*g*). The appalling mortality from plague which has made the people sullen and labour scarce, and raised the wages abnormally.

Now the first 6 causes are directly attributable to Anglo-Indians. The last is a visitation of God. The first two might perhaps have been innocuous but for the four following. Joined, however, they have increased the volume of discontent enormously, The sixth has played the most important part. The silent economic revolution caused by the same has acted terribly on the minds of men belonging to the lower strata of Government servants, and has very naturally brought about strikes such as would have been incredible a few years before. Under the circumstances can the Government honestly and conscientiously acquit its own officers of want of foresight and statesmenship in insisting

on unpopular measures and passing them in the teeth of universal opposition, of disregarding the economic changes, and failing to recognise the claims of classes of Government servants to an increase in their salaries proportionate to the increase in the wages of private labourers? Had this been done in time and with consideration, all discontent would have been quieted.

Agitators Responsible and Irresponsible.

Are the agitators to be blamed for having pointed out the Government's mistakes and identified themselves with popular grievances? What have they done? They have enlisted the sympathies of the masses by standing for their grievances and agitating for the removal of the same. The Government had from time reproached them for standing alone and away from the masses, and as, therefore, having no justification to speak in their name Here was an opportunity for them to remove this reproach. Can any one honestly say that they have done wrong in utilising this opportunity? Should they have stood aloof from the people and refused to take up their cause and articulate the same? Had they done so they would have been unworthy of their education and guilty of treason to their own people. Why should they then be blamed for having espoused the popular cause? A year before they were incomprehensible to the masses. The masses did not and could not be expected to follow them in their cry for Self-Government. As for the demand for an increased employment of Indians in higher offices under Government, the people were not quite certain if that would immediately help them very much They said that it made no difference in their lot whether they were governed by a Mister or a Lala or a Maulvi. The recent legislation, however, made them think differently. They found that the services rendered by them to the Empire in the past had really counted

for nothing and could not but suspect that Government was treating them very badly. The class legistation indulged in by Government so defiantly in the proud consciousness of their unlimited strength has affected class after class until there was hardly any section of the population left which could honestly display any enthusiasm for the Government. We know that there is a class of Government hangers-on—their contractors, news-vendors, and title-hunters, &c., whose leaders are always enthusiastic for the Government for it pays them so well to do so. But even they cannot honestly lay their hands on their hearts and say that they had no hand in the agitation over the Colonization Bill and the Canal Water Rates Resolution. The difference is this, that they acted behind the *purdah*, keeping appearances all right, while others acted boldy and openly. These unpopular measures gave an opportunity to some "young talkers" who utilised it to their hearts' content. Their fearless speeches and their readiness to suffer for their convictions went straight to the people's hearts and attracted thousands to their meeting places. Now it is silly to assume that they had any responsible people at their back for the simple reason that no thoughtful or responsible man could possibly bring himself to believe that the country was *at all* ready for a political cataclysm. The cry in the Panjab has always been for "organised work." No organization could be started or perfected in the state in which the Province has been for the last nine months. The tree of organization requires a cool atmosphere and undisturbed soil to take root and fructify. People have not rushed into print or to public meetings to denounce youthful and impulsive speakers or writers, but they have all the same done their level best to influence them towards moderation and towards more permanent and solid ways of doing things such as might leave solid and

lasting results behind. It is unfortunate that they did not succeed to the extent they wished, but even their failure has its own significance. If amateur orators and others whom no body knew two or three months before, could repulse with impunity the advances of responsible leaders to control and guide them, if they could refuse to listen to the advice of the latter, question their moral courage, and at times denounce them as cowards, and still practically keep the field to themselves, *this* shows that they depended upon the sympathies and appreciation of the people in general, ignoring those who wanted to control and guide them. They had something in them which appealed to the people and which brought them appreciation and encouragement.

Real Grievances Voiced by the Agitators.

It is again silly to suppose that their audiences consisted only or mainly of the juvenile population. Could any one in his senses maintain that meetings at Lyallpore, Multan, Batala, Amritsar, and Delhi consisted of students only? Who attended the meetings at the local "Bharat Mata" Office after the Schools and Colleges had been closed on account of the plague? What is the total strength of the school population at Lahore or at Rawalpindi or at Delhi compared with the numbers that have been attending the meetings addressed by Sardar Ajit Singh and Syed Hyder Riza. The fact is, and it cannot be honestly ignored, that the propaganda carried on by these gentlemen has met with popular approval, it meets the fancy of the masses, and their utterances find a ready and appreciative response from the thousands whom they address, and for tens of thousands more who devour their speeches or writings as reported or published in the vernacular press. The irresponsible writer in the Anglo-Indian journal may talk or write what pleases

him, but the responsible authorities can no longer shut their eyes to the fact that Sardar Ajit Singh and Syed Hyder Riza really represent a solid bulk of public opinion which it will be madness to ignore or treat with contempt. I do not, however, believe that the state of things has come to such a pass as to justify the panic which appears to have taken hold of Anglo-Indian circles in the Panjab. The discontent in the Panjab has not yet assumed proportions so as to lead people to overt acts of violence. The stray acts of violence hitherto in evidence represent the doing of the Secret Police, or of *Gundas*, or of a few frenzied boys, or perhaps of all these combined.

The Right Path for Government.

But there is no denial that this may lead to further and greater disorders if nothing is done to remove the discontent that is at the bottom of it and to soothe the angered and outraged feelings of the people. Repressive measures might cow down the people for a time, but that they are bound to fail in the end, if it is intended to crush the spirit of the people thereby, is certain, so long as the people believe that their interests and those of the Government clash. And so long as these two are in conflict, the popular feeling is sure to burst out from time to time; do what you may to crush or kill it by force. The thing is new just now. After over 50 years of peaceful Government, when the people have quite forgotten the troubles of a disordered state of society, and after they have taken to easy going modes of life, it shocks them to hear of the arrests such as have taken place in Rawalpindi. It may unnerve them for the time, and the political movement in the Panjab may be put down for sometime to come. But as soon as the people recover their stunned

senses, and begin to think how insignificant are individual interests in the struggle for national rights, their sympathies for the first victims will change into homage for the cause and for those who were the first to suffer for the cause. Fear will give way to the desire for martyrdom and panic will disappear. This process will be facilitated and hastened if these arrests become too common, as they are likely to be, in the present state of panic in official circles, but that these arrests will seal the fate of the national movement I decline to believe. The efforts of the Government at repression are only natural. The effect of these measures on the public mind will show how much real political life there is in the country and how far it can be relied on. It will give a fresh starting point to those who desire to devote their lives to this cause. National evolution is bound to proceed on the lines of repulses, defeats, struggles, and the like. None need despair. True wisdom as well as the spirit of resignation to the Divine Will teaches taking things as they come, drawing right conclusions therefrom, modifying ways and means in accordance therewith and then proceeding steadily and surely.

LAJPAT RAI.

LAHORE:
9th May 1907.

[The above was not intended to be published over the writer's signature, but under the circumstances which have since transpired we have thought it best to let the public know what he was thinking about just before the fateful hour of his arrest.—ED. *Panjabee*.]

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